



## news

**The Ordtech affair:** Collapse of Matrix Churchill trial prompted four businessmen to lodge appeal in arms-to-Iraq case

# How one arms scandal led to another

DAVID HELLIER

It was the collapse of the Matrix Churchill trial in November 1992, and the release of previously undisclosed documents to the defendants, which persuaded the four businessmen in the Ordtech arms-to-Iraq case to lodge their appeals.

"At the end of the trial we assumed that was it," said Paul Grecian, "that we couldn't do anything about convictions after pleading guilty. But when the Matrix Churchill trial collapsed the possibility was raised of going for an appeal."

The four businessmen were found guilty on charges of exporting to Iraq an assembly line for making fuses for long-range artillery shells. The export was deemed to be in breach of the Export Control Act.

Sentences for three of the men ranged from six to 18

months, all suspended. The fourth man, responsible for the shipping of the equipment, was fined £1,000. His firm, EC Transport, had its licence for exporting defence equipment withdrawn as a result.

The case held remarkable similarities with the Matrix Churchill trial but also a key difference. In both cases defendants were denied access ahead of the trial to documents they believed to be relevant to their defence. The striking difference, though, is that whereas the judge in the Matrix Churchill case eventually saw a need for those documents to be presented, the judge in the Ordtech case did not.

"Had Mr Collins been shown the documents we have seen he could not possibly have said what he did in the passage quoted above," the Lord Chief

Court Judge – assured the judge at Reading Crown Court that after looking at documents made available to him by the Department of Trade and Industry, and having taken advice from a senior Customs official, he was assured that there were no documents of relevance to the defence.

Even if Mr Collins had decided that there were relevant documents, he also told the defendants' counsel at the Reading trial that there were public interest immunity certificates

Justice said yesterday. He refused to speculate as to why the documents were not disclosed, noting that the whole issue was within the remit of the Scott inquiry, which now hopes to publish its long-awaited report into the Arms-to-Iraq affair early in the new year.

The appeal process has been a long and hard one and it was only in July of this year, more than three years after the original trial, that the appellants were granted access to hundreds of documents denied them at Reading Crown Court in 1992.

CONFIRMATION THAT JORDAN WAS ACTING AS A FRONT FOR IRAQ

SECOND OF PLEADING AT GENERAL HEADQUARTERS, AMMAN, 21 JULY 1992  
Present: MDCS, Gen Amman, Gen Fadil Abu Talib, Maj Gen Fawaz Obaidat, Brig Gen Suleimani, RAY  
1. After opening courtesies, Dr. Sir Alexander said that during King Hussein's visit to Iraq the previous week the former had asked Jordan to "look" for them in the supply of certain British military equipment. Their principal request was over the supply of spares for their British armoured recovery vehicles. He went on to say that

ated form because they were affected by public interest immunity certificates.

The defence case, once these documents materialised, was clear. They showed that Paul Grecian, the man who set Ordtech up, was an invaluable informant to the security services.

They also contradicted a witness statement given in the Reading trial, indicating that Mr Grecian had only had two meetings with his Special Branch contact and on neither occasion had he discussed his defence involvement with the Iraqis.

The defence argued that Mr Grecian could not possibly have got access to the kind of things he did, such as the first inkling of the Iraqi "supergun" project, without being involved in selling defence equipment to Iraq. He said his security service meetings began each time with a project update; therefore

the Government must have known what he was doing.

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## The men at the centre of the controversy

Paul Grecian started Ordtech which specialised in exporting high-technology products and expertise mainly to third world countries in 1987.

By 1989 he was fully involved in dealing with Iraq, the largest of those Third World buyers.

His previous career was in advertising, but at the beginning of the eighties he was introduced to the defence world through one of his clients, and was sold on it.

At his high point, Mr Grecian owned an estate in Scotland, called Whitehall. Now he lives a far more modest life, staying in a rent-free house owned by the Crown Estates with only the most basic furniture and carpets.

If there has been a consolation it is that he has more time to spend on his favourite pastime, rugby, which he plays regularly, now as a veteran for London Scottish.

Of late, Mr Grecian's days have been spent either preparing for the appeal or doing the small amount of manual work he manages to pick up. It is a far cry from the days in the late eighties when he was frequently travelling back and forth to Baghdad, lavishly entertaining his Arab customers in London's night-spots, relaxing at his Scottish estate, and holding regular meetings with his Special Branch contact and his security service handlers.

Mr Grecian pleaded guilty to two charges of conspiring to export defence equipment to Iraq in contravention of the Export of Goods (Control) Orders on 24 February 1992. He was sentenced to 12 months imprisonment on each count concurrently suspended for 18 months.

Bryan Mason was Ordtech's chief engineer, closely involved with design and production. Like Mr Grecian, he travelled widely and frequently to Iraq.

He said the whole affair had been a nightmare for him and his family. His wife is a schoolteacher.

"We always wanted to appeal but until the Matrix Churchill trial came along we never realised we could get hold of the papers," he said earlier this week. "I'll be glad when it's all over because I've got other things to do with my life."

The US authorities are still interested in extraditing him, but he hopes this threat might now recede.

Mr Mason pleaded guilty to two charges on 24 February 1992. He received nine months' imprisonment on each count, concurrently, which was also suspended for 18 months.

Stuart Blackledge was a project engineer based in Geneva and Iraq for Space Research Corporation, the Belgium-based company that created the Iraqi supergun project. In 1988 SRC received an order from Iraq for a modified version of the M739 fuze. Mr Blackledge approached Ordtech to design, develop, manufacture and export an assembly line for the fuze.

Since the trial, Mr Blackledge has worked at British Nuclear Fuels and North West Water as an engineer. He is now working in the car industry.

He says there appeared to be "a lot of pressure on the prosecution to gain a conviction with the minimum of publicity" at the Reading trial.



Cuts could cost in Iraq

Mr Blackledge pleaded guilty to one charge a day after the others and was sentenced to six months' imprisonment suspended for 12 months.

Colin Phillips arranged Ordtech's shipments to Iraq. He then worked for EC Transport in Wimborne, Dorset. Several months after his conviction, the Home Office withdrew that company's licence for the shipment of dangerous goods, which forced him to resign. Once he had resigned, the company re-applied and got its licence back.

Mr Phillips has since set up his own company, Colin Phillips, which arranges for the shipment of ammunition and explosives.

Now, not surprisingly, he says he feels "a bit numb" about the whole experience.

Mr Phillips pleaded guilty to one charge and was fined £1,000, payable within 6 months with 30 days' imprisonment on default.

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The defence also argued that the documents showed that, whilst the Government officially maintained the stance that it was not sanctioning the export of offensive weaponry to Iraq, everyone in the Government machine knew that a "blind-eye" would be turned and the equipment would go through unimpeded if it were sent through Jordan. The defence argued that, had their clients received the documents they now have at their Reading trial, their solicitors and barristers would have advised them differently – not to plead guilty.

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# Men win funds to fight Labour quotas

JOHN RENTOUL  
Political Correspondent

The Equal Opportunities Commission has backed two male would-be MPs in their legal action against the Labour Party's policy of women's quotas for parliamentary candidates.

The EOC has taken the controversial step of offering financial help and expert advice to Peter Jepson and Roger Dyas Elliot, whose joint case against Labour will be heard at

Leeds industrial tribunal on 11 December.

The case could be a serious embarrassment to the Labour Party, but the commission believes that it is "a matter of public interest" to test the legality of the policy, a spokesman said.

It decided to make a "limited offer of assistance" last week and wrote over the weekend to Mr Jepson, who is acting for both men, offering access to its database of cases and to pay for him to seek further legal opinion.

Mr Jepson was excluded from an all-women shortlist to choose the candidate for the new safe Labour Regent's Park seat in central London; Mr Dyas Elliot was turned away from the shadow of Lord Irvine, the shadow Lord Chancellor.

"I think that shows they are concerned with the case," said Mr Jepson, who welcomed access to the EOC's research back-up and expertise in equal opportunities case law as a way of matching Labour's legal firepower. Mr Jepson does not

take the case seriously and will be represented by James Goudie, a senior QC who once shared an office with Tony Blair, the Labour leader, in the chambers of Lord Irvine, the shadow Lord Chancellor.

"I think that shows they are concerned with the case," said Mr Jepson, who welcomed access to the EOC's research back-up and expertise in equal opportunities case law as a way of matching Labour's legal firepower. Mr Jepson does not

have formal legal representation, although he does have voluntary help from a newly qualified barrister.

Mr Blair has been unequivocal about the policy of requiring local Labour parties to choose female candidates in half of all winnable seats. In July he said that the policy, brought in by John Smith in 1993 but opposed by the party's former leadership, Neil Kinnock and Roy Hattersley, was "not ideal at all", and he said it would ap-

ply only to the coming general election. He later said it would be up to the party as a whole to "review" the policy after the general election.

Alan Lakin, the EOC's chief legal adviser, yesterday denied that the commission had changed its position. The commission, which is charged to "work towards the elimination of sex discrimination" and to monitor the 1975 Act, obtained counsel's opinion last year from Michael Beloff QC that Labour's

policy was lawful - "which remains the view of the commission", he said.

The case will turn on whether political parties have a blanket exclusion from the provisions of the Act, or whether being an MP is "employment" - access to which is controlled by the Labour Party in safe seats.

Meanwhile, Labour's National Executive is continuing the slow process of imposing all-women shortlists on reluctant local parties.

## IN BRIEF

### Gays warned of homophobic killer

Police fear a homophobic killer could be at work after a man was murdered and another savagely beaten in Plymouth yesterday.

Victims of anti-gay attacks are being contacted after the men were found just after midnight lying in a park known as a meeting place for gaysex. The dead man, aged 40, had been stabbed in the groin and beaten. The injured man, aged between 40 and 50, was described as stable. Unconfirmed reports claimed both men suffered mutilation to their genitals.

### Extradition move

A French anti-terrorist magistrate flew to London in what is seen as the first steps to extradite an Algerian wanted for questioning in France over a wave of bombings. Abdellader Benouf, 36, also known as Abou Fares, is being held under the Prevention of Terrorism Act after his arrest on Saturday.

### Lawyers walk out

Lawyers representing four men accused of involvement in the murder of 31-year-old Margaret Wright - an epileptic hater and shot by a mob at a loyalist drinking den last year - walked out of the trial at Belfast Crown Court without giving a reason. The judge adjourned the case until today.

### No Go on Internet

Attempts to take the Monopoly board game into the hi-tech age with the launch of the CD-ROM version on the Internet with a game involving players in Las Vegas, Paris, Hamburg and London failed after a power cut hit lines in London.

### THE INDEPENDENT ABROAD

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**Booker Prize:** Judges favour Pat Barker's novel 'The Ghost Road' about soldiers' traumas in the Great War  
**Northern realism wins over Rushdie's hot property**



Booker choice: Pat Barker with her prizewinning novel last night at Guildhall in London

JOHN WALSH  
Literary Editor

The Booker Prize, generally accepted as the world's premier award for a single work of fiction, was won last night by *The Ghost Road* by Pat Barker. The announcement, made at the Guildhall in the City of London by George Walden, the outgoing MP and chairman of the Booker judges, shocked many fans of Salman Rushdie, whose fifth novel, *The Moor's Last Sigh*, was the bookies' favourite to win - indeed, at odds of 4-5, it was the hottest-ever favourite for the £20,000 prize. Ms Barker was second favourite at 3-1.

Born in Thornaby-on-Tees in 1943 and now living in Durham, Pat Barker is something of an unknown quantity on the metropolitan literary circuit (she always feels "relieved", she says, to get back to her northern roots), but her novels have won a steadily growing reputation since 1991, when she published *Regeneration*, the first of a trilogy of novels about the First World War, of which *The Eye in the Door* (1993) was the second and the new Booker winner the third.

Her family was working-class.

She studied history at the London School of Economics and became a teacher. She began writing in her mid-twenties, finished several unpublished novels, and was advised by the late novelist Angela Carter to write about her own northern background. The result was *Union Square*, her prizewinning debut, a series of stories about working-class life which was bizarrely

transmogrified by Hollywood into the love-and-dyslexia movie *Stanley and Iris*, starring Jane Fonda and Robert de Niro.

*The Ghost Road* explores the trauma of soldiers in the First World War through the psychological investigations of William Rivers, a real-life anthropologist and military psychiatrist, and the swath cut through Edwardian society by one of his patients, the bisexual class warrior Billy Prior. Historical figures such as Wilfred Owen and Lewis Carroll turn up in the narrative but the dialogue is brightly modern, and a subplot about anthropological researches among Melanesian natives offer an eloquent counterbalance to this glittering story of civilisation falling apart.

The book is a worthy winner. Reviewing it, the *Times Literary Supplement* said, "With the other two volumes of the trilogy, it forms one of the richest and most rewarding works of fiction of recent times."

The other contenders were: □ Barry Unsworth's *Morality Play*. Unsworth, 65, won the Booker in 1992 with *Sacred Hunger*, an epic tale of slave ships and the value of human lives in the 18th century. In *Morality Play* he goes to the late-14th century, a time of plague and famine in England, and traces the wanderings of a troupe of travelling players, driven by penury to enact, instead of a Bible story, the tale of a real-life local murder of a 14-year-old boy. Unsworth offers a revelation of the Dark Ages as they began to turn towards the Enlightenment.

□ Tim Winton's *The Riders*. Dismayingly young at 35, Winton is the bright young hope of Australian novelists, much praised by the likes of former Booker laureate Thomas Keneally. In *The Riders*, the stoic Fred Scully, beginning to set up a new home in Ireland, discovers that his wife, Jennifer, has disappeared in Europe and sets out with his little daughter, Billie, to track her down. His quest leaves the reader hanging in an existential limbo.

□ Justin Cartwright's *In Every Face I Meet*. South-African-born Cartwright's two obsessions with London and the African wildness of his childhood meet in *Every Face* (the title is from Blake's *Song of Experience* about London), which offers the alternately halal and despairing thought processes of a London businessman on the slide, and the musings of a young prostitute and her crack-dealing black pimp who is to be the businessman's Nemesis. Cartwright's ventriloquial skills cannot hide a slightly effortful piling on of the agony.

□ Salman Rushdie's *The Moor's Last Sigh*. The 48-year-old, Bombay-born, Rugby-educated, chronic winder-upper-of-dangerous-and-powerful-men-and-women Rushdie, in his fifth novel gives the reader the explosive figure of Morac Zogolby, who tells the epic tale of his father, Abraham's huge 20th-century trading empire in Cochinchina. Rather than deal in the religious sectarianism of *The Satanic Verses*, Rushdie makes his hero a Catholic-Jewish Arab; and gives Morac a body that ages at twice the normal speed.

## Cuts could exact a high cost in human hardship

More than one million lone parents, thousands of young people leaving home and up to 150,000 recipients of industrial injuries benefits are to be hit in a fresh round of savings, which will in time take almost another £1bn a year out of the social security budget, according to the leaked correspondence from Peter Lilley, Chief Secretary to the Treasury.

The freeze in lone parent premium and one parent benefit will hit well over one million single parents - depriving them of a 3.9 per cent inflation-linked increase next April. In addition, the £5.20-a-week lone parent premium paid to single parents on income support will be abolished for new cases.

The real terms cut in the value of benefit marks something of a departure for Mr Lilley, the Secretary of State for Social Security, who has argued that benefit rates "by and large" are "not hugely generous" and that they "don't enable people to live the life of Riley". In the main, his approach has been to restrict the numbers eligible for benefit rather than reduce the individual amounts paid.

Plans to save £1bn in welfare payments will hit thousands, says Nicholas Timmins

The pressure for fresh cuts in social security is such, however, that Mr Lilley has agreed to savings which rise from £400m next year to £1bn a year in three years time, on top of the £4bn that the Government has already removed from the social security budget by the end of the century - chiefly by introducing the revamped incapacity benefit, and cuts to housing benefit.

These, however, look set to go further, with Mr Lilley suggesting that in future those aged under 25 could be restricted to five in bedsits, flats or hostels, rather than in self-contained flats of their own, by restricting their housing benefit payments to the cost of shared accommodation. That would produce savings of £10m next year, rising to £65m a year by 1999, according to the letter.

The most controversial saving, however, will come from the changes to lone parent pay-

## Wilson's papers for Bodleian

Lord Wilson of Rievaulx, the former prime minister who died in May, has left £490,992 in his will, published yesterday. Controversy over the role of Martin Williams, his personal political secretary, followed him to the grave in a flurry of interest over a clause leaving "his political papers, correspondence, speeches and memoranda and all rights therein" to her, writes John Rentoul.

But it emerged that these personal papers are already being handed over to the Bodleian Library in Oxford "to be kept as part of the national heritage". Diana Rawstron, of solicitors Goodman Derrick, acting for Lord Wilson's estate, said: "It's a superfluous provision of the will. The papers were handed over about five years ago to a charitable trust, and they are in the process of being transferred to the Bodleian."

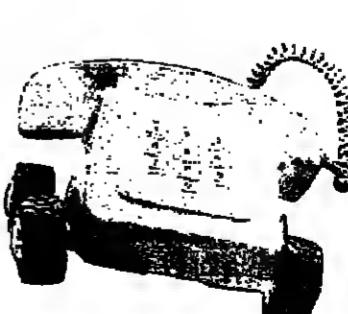
Marcia Williams, now Lady Falkender, named as Lord Wilson's literary executrix, supervised the handing over. She "does not get a penny of benefit from it", said Mrs Rawstron. Lord Wilson's wife Mary inherits the estate, which includes a flat in London and a house in Scilly.

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# news

Drama as witness collapses after telling of deal

## Wests 'had secret pact to let Fred take all the blame'

WILL BENNETT

Rosemary and Fred West made a pact that he would take the blame for the Cromwell Street killings, a witness told Winchester Crown Court yesterday before collapsing.

Janet Leach, who suffered a stroke last year and who was visibly distressed as she gave evidence, was taken to hospital when she became unable to speak or move during the lunch break. The case was adjourned until today when the court will be told whether Mrs Leach, who became a confidant of Mr West after his arrest last year, is fit to resume giving evidence.

The court was also read a note yesterday from Fred West to his wife discovered in his prison cell after he was found hanged on New Year's Day.

Mrs Leach, 39, was being cross examined by Richard Ferguson QC, for the defence, when the court broke. When the jury returned the judge told them of her collapse. A spokesman for the Royal Hampshire County Hospital, Winchester, later described her condition as "satisfactory".

Mrs West, 41, denies murdering 10 girls and young women whose remains were found at the Wests' house, 25 Cromwell Street, Gloucester, and at their previous home in the city. Mr West was charged with 12 murders.

Yesterday Mrs Leach, a mother of five, told the court how she had sat in on scores of police interviews with Mr West last year as an "appropriate adult". This is a system designed to provide an impartial witness and is commonly used when children are being questioned.

Mrs Leach spent much time talking to Mr West when police were not present and he told her a different story to that which he told detectives. "What he was saying in the interviews was not totally true, he was protecting Rosemary," said Mrs Leach, who was called by the prosecution to rebut taped interviews played to the court on Friday in

which Mr West said that his wife was not involved in the murders.

"He just said that when he was arrested he wanted to know whether Rosemary had been let out because that was important to him because they had made a pact that he would take the blame for everything."

"If he was going to go into an interview and was going to talk a lot of nonsense, he would tell me," said Mrs Leach.

She said he first told her about the pact a few days after his arrest. "Some of the things he said in the interviews he would change ... but he said that he and Rosemary had made a pact and that Rosemary would never say anything."

Brian Leveson QC, for the



Janet Leach: Fred West told her of pact to let Rose escape

prosecution, asked: "At any stage did he ask whether Rosemary was out [of custody]?"

Mrs Leach replied: "Yes. That was after about three or four days ... When she was released he just said the plan was working."

Asked about Mr West's reaction when his wife was re-arrested, Mrs Leach replied: "He was upset and just said that the police were getting too close and that they would find out that Rosemary was involved."

Mrs Leach wept as she told the court she had been "devastated" by what he told her. She became ill after sitting in on interviews for three months. She said she had not told police at the time because she regarded

her conversations with Mr West as confidential and he said he would tell the truth at his trial.

Mrs Leach kept in touch with Mr West and said she was "really angry" when he died because this left her to carry the burden of what he had told her. She sought legal advice and then went to the police.

Earlier Dr James McMasters,

a medical officer at Winsor Green prison, Birmingham, where Fred West was found hanged, said Mr West had told him he had lied to protect his wife, who had enjoyed cruelty.

Dr McMasters said he went to see Mr West in August last year because he was upset after a row with his solicitor.

"He claimed he had been telling lies to the police," said Dr McMasters. "He said he felt his wife was responsible for restraining his daughters while they were raped ... He said his wife was running a brothel from his house. He claimed that he was protecting her and was prepared to go to jail for life. He said that in the past his wife had tried to murder him by trying to stab him with a knife."

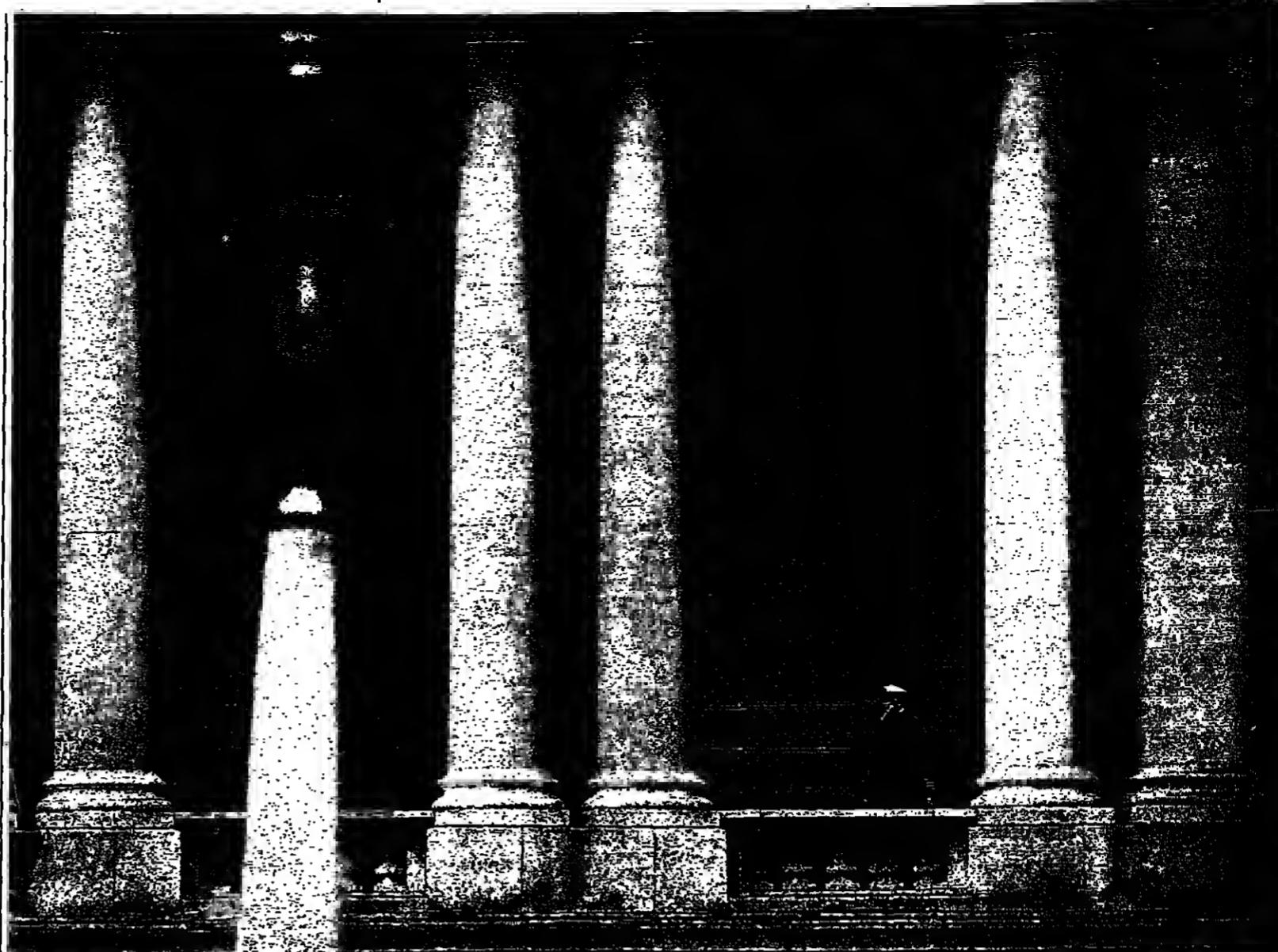
"He also claimed that his wife Rosemary enjoyed cruelty ... He blamed his wife for sexually abusing the children and for using them for prostitution."

The court was read two notes found in Mr West's cell. One said: "Well Rose it's your birthday on 29 November 1994 and you will be 41 and still beautiful and still lovely and I love you."

"We will always be in love. The most wonderful thing in my life is [sic] when I met you. Our love was special to us so love keep your promises to me you know what they are. When we are put together it's up to you where."

"Lay Heather [their daughter] who they were both charged with murdering] by us, we loved Heather."

The note concluded: "When you are ready come to me and I will be ready for you." Mr West then drew a gravestone with the epitaph: "Where no shadow falls in perfect peace."



Heritage debate: The Prince of Wales yesterday at the Royal Naval College in Greenwich, south-east London, which he visited with Virginia Bottomley, Secretary of State for Heritage, and Nicholas Soames, Armed Forces minister, to discuss its future. The historic site is up for sale. Photograph: Edward Webb

## Union leader refuses £9,000 pay increase

BARRIE CLEMENT  
Labour Editor

The man yesterday elected leader of Britain's biggest union waived a £9,000 pay increase and will be 41 and still beautiful and still lovely and I love you.

"We will always be in love.

The most wonderful thing in my life is [sic] when I met you. Our

love was special to us so love

keep your promises to me you

know what they are. When we

are put together it's up to you

where."

Lay Heather [their daughter]

who they were both charged

with murdering] by us, we loved

Heather."

The note concluded: "When

you are ready come to me and

I will be ready for you." Mr West

then drew a gravestone with the

epitaph: "Where no shadow

falls in perfect peace."

relationship with the Labour leader was "new and developing" and that he did not want any "fisticuffs".

Mr Bickerstaffe said: "We are not in the pocket of the Labour Party, we are an independent trade-union and we will continue to press those causes we believe in best, including a national minimum wage."

Mr Bickerstaffe, 50, currently associate general secretary of the union, will take over the leadership in March at a time when Unison members are expected to vote more funds into Labour coffers, making the union the party's biggest affiliate.

The Unison election result was closer than expected with

Mr Bickerstaffe taking 47.7 per cent of the vote and his closest rival, Peter Hunter, who stood on an anti-abortion and "anti-political correctness" platform, receiving 29.3 per cent. Only around a fifth of the membership returned their ballot forms.

Asked why he was foregoing the £64,000 salary, to which he is entitled when he takes over as leader, Mr Bickerstaffe replied: "What you don't have, you don't miss. After 30 years in the movement, I am happy with the salary I've got." He said the gesture was not meant to be part of a "horse-bair-shirt revolution". He was "much younger in the job" than the 60-year-old current incumbent,

Alan Jinkinson. The decision to waive the salary increase comes in the wake of union revulsion over the increase in earnings enjoyed by directors of public utilities where Unison has a large membership.

The general secretary-elect

warned that he would expect a future Labour government to remunerate public-sector workers "fairly". Some observers believe that the first industrial action to be suffered by a Labour government will come from Unison members whose wages have been held down.

Mr Bickerstaffe came to

public notice during the 1979

"winter of discontent", when his

union, NUPE, was held respons-

sible for a strike by gravediggers

which left corpses unburied.

The new Unison leader was

also blamed by close associates

of Mr Blair for fomenting op-

position to the Labour leader's

plan to ditch the pro-national-

isation clause 4 of the party con-

stitution. As a leader of Unison

he has met considerable suspicion

from some hardliners. He came

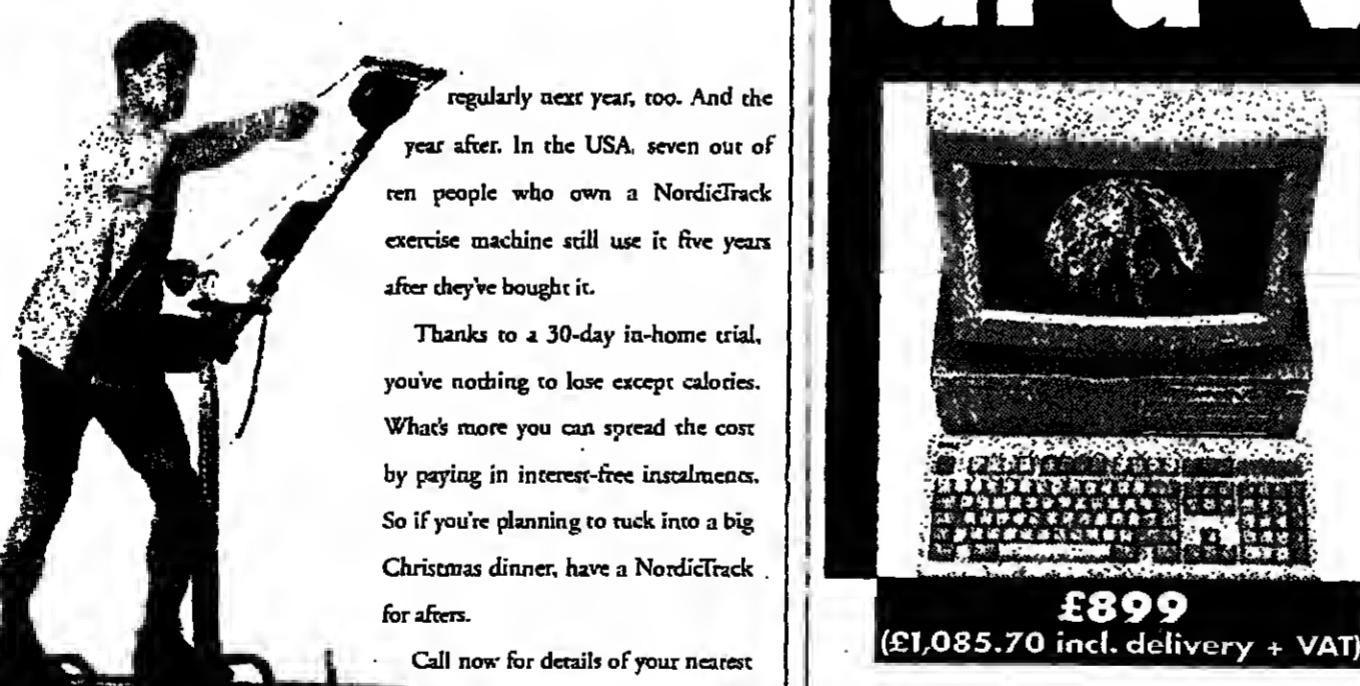
under fire for allowing NUPE,

of which he was then general

secretary, to abandon its policy

of unilateral disarmament.

# Burn the Christmas dinner.

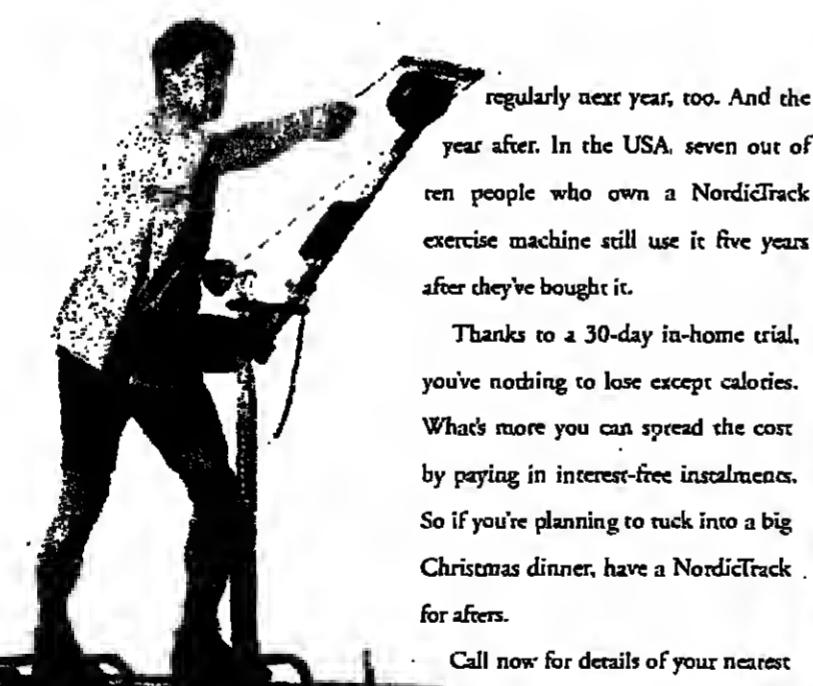


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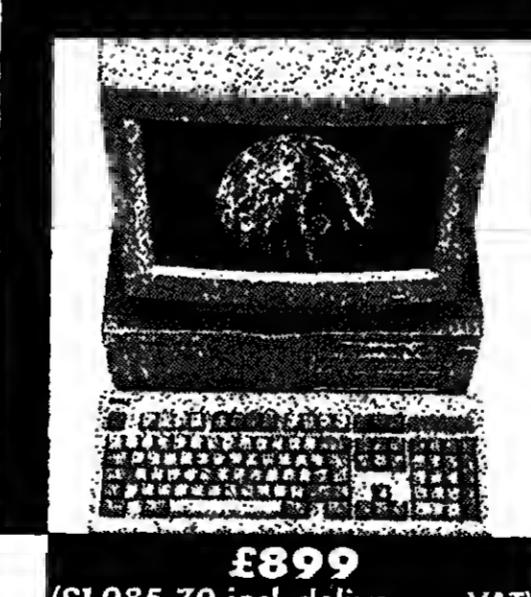
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## MPs' EARNINGS

news

# Heseltine calls on reluctant Tories to comply with vote

PATRICIA WYNN DAVIES  
and COLIN BROWN

Michael Heseltine, the Deputy Prime Minister, was yesterday forced to urge reluctant Tory MPs to comply with the new rule on disclosure of earnings, amid signs of possible defiance. There were recriminations, too, directed at John Major for allowing the Government to be outflanked by Labour.

Meanwhile, a full-scale post mortem was launched into one of the worst miscalculations by Government business managers in recent years.

Seething Tory MPs who voted against disclosure of earnings for parliamentary work were furious with the Prime Minister for getting them "into this mess" and sending morale back to rock-bottom. Sir Michael Neubert, the MP for Romford, and Euro-rebel Tony Marlow, who represents Northampton North, are among those who might defy the new ruling.

But Whitehall sources complained that insufficient intelligence had been gathered in advance of last Thursday's Prime Minister's Questions, when Mr Major unequivocally

came down against disclosure, only to be humiliated by a thumping 51-vote Labour majority on Monday night.

It was suggested yesterday that Government whips had too readily assumed that MPs who were not openly declaring their intended support for disclosure were against it, when in fact they were silent in favour.

During a Prime Minister's Questions confrontation with Mr Heseltine, John Prescott, Labour's deputy leader, also underlined his party's commitment to persuading Lord Nolan's Committee on Standards in Public Life to investigate party political funding as a matter of urgency. Lord Nolan has put off a decision on such an investigation until after the next general election.

"Why can't the public know where the Tory party gets its money from? Who has paid for a knighthood? Who has paid for a peerage? Which foreign businessman have bankrolled the Tory party?"

The next stage of the implementation of the Nolan recommendations will be the arrival at Westminster of Sir Gordon Downey, the newly-appointed Parliamentary Commissioner for Standards, when the new session of Parliament begins, next Wednesday.

Those against disclosure have an average of 1.7 consultancies each, with those who abstained

# 'Sleaze-buster' faces a hostile reception



Photograph: Steve Morgan

COLIN BROWN  
Chief Political Correspondent

The so-called "Sleaze-buster General", Sir Gordon Downey, 67, will face deep resentment among MPs on all sides when he takes up his position next Wednesday.

His appointment as Parliamentary Commissioner for Standards deeply angered many MPs because of the size of his salary, £72,500 a year.

A total of 73 MPs opposed his appointment, put forward by the Liberal Democrat Alan Beith as chairman of the House of Commons Commission. Many were Tories but they included leading Liberal Democrats such as Sir David Steel.

Nicholas Winterton, one of the Tory MPs who voted against the appointment, wondered what expertise Sir Gordon had for the job. *Hansard* yesterday recorded Labour MP Dennis Skinner's reply: "Bugger all."

In fact, Sir Gordon was highly respected as a watchdog on public spending as Comptroller and Auditor General. He served from 1981 to 1987 and became a thorn in the Thatcher Government's side.

Sir Gordon, a civil servant at the Treasury from 1952 to 1981, served as private secretary to three Chancellors, Butler, Macmillan and Thorneycroft, before serving in the Think Tank - the Central Policy Review Staff.

Concerned about the waste of taxpayers' money, he helped to create the National Audit Office by assisting Lord St John of Pawsley in drafting a private member's Bill which set it up. He showed his independence from the Thatcher Government by blazing a trail for the NAO, whose reports go to the Public Accounts Committee.

As someone with a proven record in uncovering fraud, he was regarded by Labour as a natural choice for the task of enforcing the new rules on the disclosure of earnings, and policing the system.

Since his retirement he has held a number of posts including commissioner of appeals on cases concerning the Association of Futures Brokers and Dealers, complaints commissioner for the Securities Association and the International Stock Exchange, chairman of the Financial Intermediaries, Managers and Brokers Regulatory Association, chairman of the Personal Investment Authority; and readers' ombudsman for the *Independent*.

What MPs can and can't do*	
<b>ACTIVITY</b>	
MP A, paid consultant to engineering trade association expressly recruited to promote organisation's commercial interests via speeches, questions or amendments	ALLOWED/BANNED? (subject to advice from commissioner, new code of conduct and decisions of new select committee)
MP B, paid parliamentary consultant to police service union, wants to put down Commons motion opposing reducing policemen's union rights	Banned: specific sectional interest
MP C, indirectly sponsored through constituency payments by firemen's union, asked to put down Commons motion on safety regulations	Banned: not a general policing issue - but may examples of advocacy will be allowed, such as over manpower levels and possibly even pay because of public interest in officer morale; some may argue the latter is a "grey" area that should go to the commissioner; consultancy contract must be lodged with commissioner and income declared in bands
MP D, front bench health spokesperson, whose parliamentary research is paid for by health workers' union, plans to lead debate on "privatisation" of NHS	Allows: a question of public policy and constituency safety; sponsorship agreement would have to be lodged and value declared as above
MP E, paid parliamentary adviser to charity for elderly people, wants to advise on progress of planned social security changes	Allows: general health service issue? This might claim this is a "grey area". Labour would argue that contracting out parts of the NHS is a genuine public policy issue and/or one directly affecting constituents; financial agreement would have to be lodged in the normal way
MP F, paid parliamentary consultant to Midlands motor traders association, wants to speak on Japanese car imports	Allows: contract must be lodged and income declared because MP working in his or her capacity as a member
MP G, paid consultant/adviser to doctors' professional association, plans to lead delegation to Health Secretary about doctors' working hours	Allows: of genuine interest to constituents? But some might argue it's a grey area because of the commercial factor
MP H, paid consultant to doctors' professional association, wants to advise on progress of planned social security changes	Banned: specific sectional interest? Could be grey area, if member believes, for example, that patients at risk, but doctors belong to a "closed shop" so that argument could fall down; there is no bar on an informal approach to the minister, however, nor is present on the MP writing him a letter; consultancy must be registered in usual way
* fictional examples of organisations	

Hot seat: Sir Gordon Downey, whose £72,000 salary has angered a number of MPs

Photograph: Steve Morgan

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# news

**Gulf War Syndrome:** MPs 'appalled' at reluctance of ministers to address veterans' concerns over effects of drugs they took



Living testament: Eddie Bleach, who claims to have suffered illness since the Gulf war, at the press conference yesterday. Photograph: Dillon Bryden

## MoD accused of turning blind eye to stricken troops

MARY BRAID

Defence ministers were yesterday castigated by a cross-party committee of MPs for their "appalling" reluctance to investigate "Gulf War Syndrome" and a slow and inadequate response to hundreds of veterans who claim to be suffering from the illness.

The Defence Select Committee took the rare step of calling a press conference after its own year-long investigation, which concluded the MoD had been "quick to deny but slow to investigate" the syndrome which, it is claimed, has affected more than 700 veterans and caused rare abnormalities to 40 Gulf war babies.

In a report that some members claimed toned down their outrage at the Ministry of Defence, the MPs unanimously dismissed ministers' claims of a lack of evidence to link Gulf service and reported illnesses as merely a reflection of the fact that they had carried out so little research.

The report claimed that the MoD's response stood in stark contrast to that of the US military authorities, which had launched a full epidemiological study and were already paying interim compensation to veterans. While the committee judged the US response "compassionate", it dismissed the MoD's response as reactive rather than pro-active and "characterised throughout by scepticism, defensiveness and general torpor".

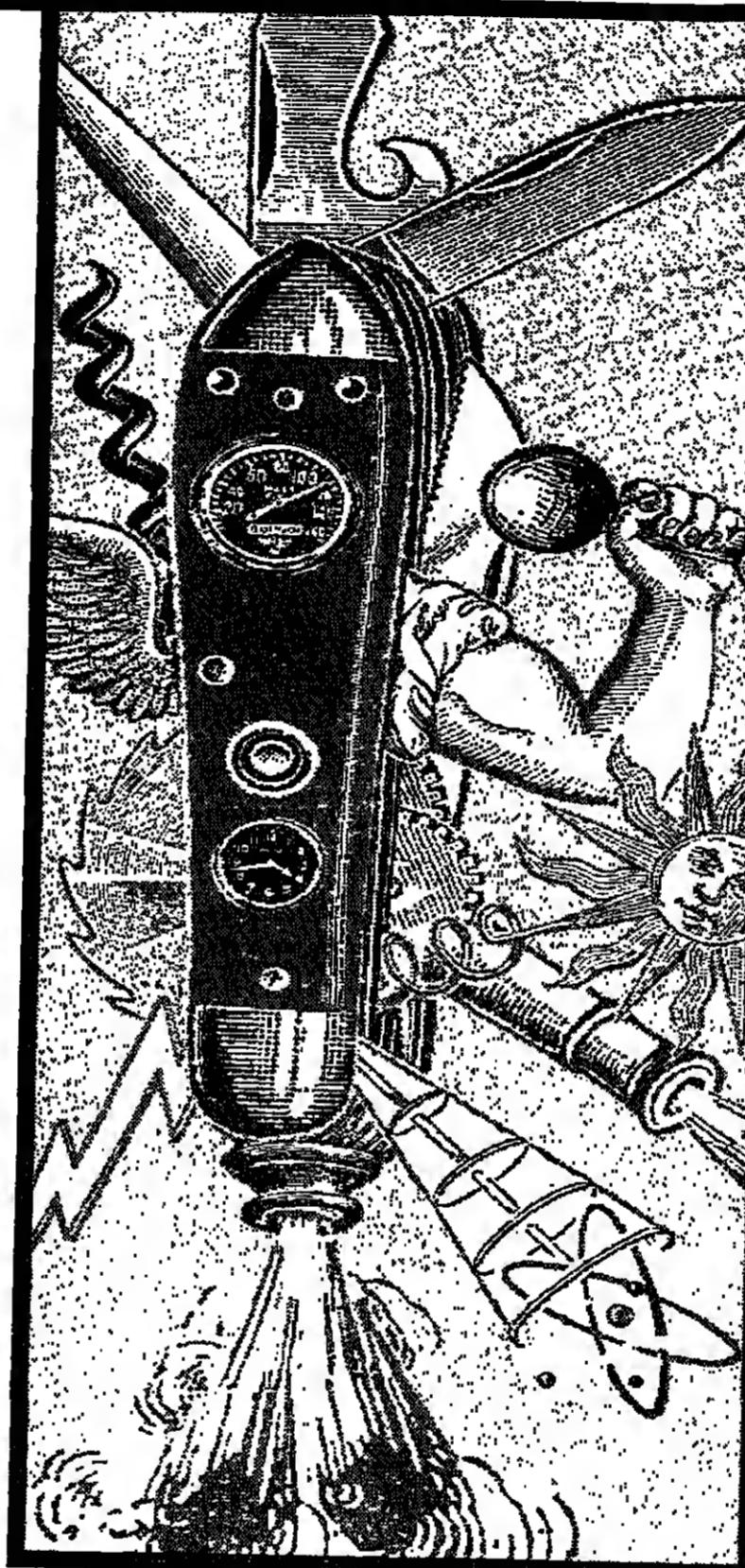
Major Hilary Jones, who served in the Gulf for three months, believes that the illness that has since forced her to leave her post as a military nurse can be traced to the war. Once on a salary of £25,000 a year, she is now surviving on benefits.

The committee is demanding a comprehensive and properly funded MoD investigation into the illness, which some experts believe may be linked to the cocktail of anti-chemical and biological warfare drugs and immunisations administered to British and American servicemen and women in the Gulf.

Some have reported being immunised up to nine times in one day against a range of potential dangers, including anthrax and bubonic plague. In the US, large numbers of Gulf veterans claim to be suffering from a range of symptoms, from severe weight and memory loss to chronic fatigue.

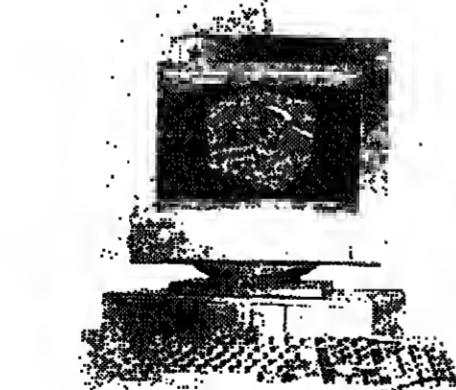
The committee singled out the drug pyridostigmine bromide. It found it "incredible" that the drug took 12 years to be fully licensed in Britain. "We are not convinced that the drug was adequately tested in the UK for use over long periods in the type of conditions prevalent in the Gulf."

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### DAILY POEM

#### Hybrid Tea Roses at the Unmanned Railway Halt

By Michael Hamburger

*How different here, gift from one long dead  
Received in a parcel from nowhere.  
Absence that still meets the season  
With a white, a yellow, a pink, a magenta  
Half nature only in kind but now released  
From all culture's will and care.*

*Through a scrub of bullace suckers,  
Mixed grasses, cleaver, yes, and reverted briar  
They've pushed the heavy-petaled  
Packed sinery of their buds.  
Opened them, too, with the silk unturn.  
In a respite out of time  
Owed kiss to the rails, in use yet for a while,  
Than to a good brick wall  
Whict of the border that was their bed  
Has made a mausoleum  
Where, left for dead, they refuse to die;  
And by defiance have proved themselves  
The nature they never were,  
Outgrown the loving eye  
They needed once as a mirror.*

*However late the train,  
Few notice them in passing,  
But let them be, in their limbo no longer human.*

Michael Hamburger, poet and translator, was born in Berlin in 1924 and emigrated to Britain, with his family, in 1933. He read modern languages at Oxford, where he was a contemporary of Larkin, and was published first as a translator of the German poetic canon and as a literary critic. His *Poems 1941-1983*, however, appeared in 1984. A new edition, published by Anvil Press at £15, updates this collection - delightfully described, for its quiet cadences and assonances as "unfashionable as birdsong" - with a resonant cycle of dream and nature poems.

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# news



On the fiddle: Rehearsals for the 21st annual Schools Proms at the Royal Albert Hall. The final concert is tonight

Photograph: Glynn Griffiths

**Prescription only: Ruling covers four brands**

## Cancer link leads to ban on sale of headlice remedies

LIZ HUNT  
Health Editor

Four brands of headlice remedies are to be banned from over-the-counter sales in pharmacies because the pesticide they contain has been linked to cancer in laboratory animals, the Department of Health said yesterday.

New restrictions are also to be introduced for carbaryl-containing pesticides used by gardeners and poultry farmers, while extra-protective measures are being introduced for people who may be exposed to carbaryl occupationally.

However, the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food (MAFF) said there was no risk to consumers from the low lev-

els of carbaryl residue in some foods. Kenneth Calman, the Chief Medical Officer, said yesterday that action to restrict the availability of shampoos and lotions containing carbaryl to prescription was "precautionary only. This is not a cancer scare."

Dr Calman added: "There are no reports that the use of carbaryl has led to cancer in humans. But in the absence of any firm toxicological evidence to the contrary, prudence dictates that we must assume that what happens in laboratory animals — rats and mice — could conceivably happen in humans."

There are an estimated 60,000 cases of headlice a year, but around 3 million bottles of remedies are sold annually. Carbaryl-containing products account for about 10 per cent of the market, and in addition to pharmacy sales 132,000 prescriptions were written for it last year. The new restriction will apply to Caryl-derm lotion and shampoo; Clinicide lotion; Derbac-C lotion and shampoo; and Suleo-C lotion and shampoo, and will take ef-

fect from January 1996. People who have any of these products on their bathroom shelves are being told to "bag them and bin them" by the DoH.

Pharmacists are being told to recommend alternative treatments available without prescription. These are: Derbac-M, Prioderm lotion/shampoo, and Suleo-M, which contain the pesticide malathion; Lyclear Creme Rinse (permethrin); and Full Marks (phenothrin).

In addition to its use as a pesticide, carbaryl is used in some veterinary medicines, flea collars and animal shampoos. A MAFF expert committee, the Advisory Committee on Pesticides, said that humans were unlikely to be exposed to concentrations as high as those used in laboratory tests. However, some products are being banned while the safety of carbaryl in animal medicines is being reviewed. "The aim is to reduce human exposure to carbaryl," a spokesman for MAFF said.

■ More information on the DoH Helpline: (0800 665544).

## Experts find role as scaremongers

### Analysis

Last month it was blood clots and the contraceptive Pill that struck fear into the hearts of 1.5 million women. Today it is cancer, newly linked with headlice shampoos, insecticides and even flea collars, that is causing anxiety to parents, gardeners, farmers and pet-lovers.

The lure of a good health scare is hard to resist for both journalists and readers. But one group thought to be above such alarmism were the scientists and doctors who advise the Government on such issues.

These experts, we believed, insisted on cool consideration of the evidence, ignoring pressure from consumers and commercial interests, and delaying a decision until they were convinced it was in the best interest of the patient. Well, not any more.

The two most recent health scares have not been "got up by the media", but have been generated by such august bodies as the Committee on Safety of Medicines, the Committee on Carcinogenicity, and the Advisory Committee on Pesticides, all of which appear to be based on a fundamental scientific principle. This principle requires new evidence to be published in a peer-reviewed journal. To act on information that is not in the public domain, that has not been

scrutinised by other independent experts, is unfair to both manufacturers and the public.

The decision to advise women on seven brands of Pill to change to older brands was made on the back of preliminary data from three unpublished studies which suggested that the risk of a blood clot on the newer pills was twice that of others. But the risk is still half that of developing a blood clot during pregnancy.

Yesterday's action to remove four brands of carbaryl-containing headlice remedies was the result of unpublished data in rats and mice on a chemical widely used for decades.

In the past, advisory committees have not pandered to the public. In Stephen Dorrell we have a Secretary of State for Health who has committed himself to the principle of evidence-based medicine, of the "rigorous assessment" of new ideas and data.

Few would disagree with this view, but recent events do not augur well for the future.

Liz Hunt

## "THE ONLY WAY TO PROGRESS IN ORGANISED CRIME IS TO BLEND IN"

Find out who your neighbours really are. From drug-lords to girl gangs, this week's **Time Out** exposes the gang members in our midst.

**Time Out**

## High Blood Pressure?

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# 10 international

**The aftermath:** Peres promises to continue the peace process as talks proceed on Israeli withdrawal from West Bank town



Two Israeli women observe a moment's silence at the spot, to be renamed Yitzhak Rabin Square, where the prime minister was shot

Photograph: AP

## Widow blames Likud violence

PATRICK COCKBURN  
Jerusalem

Israel is to move ahead with the next stage of its withdrawal from the West Bank amid a growing row over the role of Likud, the main right-wing party, in fuelling the political violence which culminated in the

assassination of Yitzhak Rabin. Israeli and PLO officers met in the northern town of Jenin to work out details of the handover of the first West Bank town to come under Palestinian self-rule since Rabin reached agreement on the latest stage of the Oslo accords. Shimon Peres, the acting prime minister, said: "I

shall continue the process of peace that we have started."

Rabin's widow, Leah, has directly accused Likud and its leader, Benjamin Netanyahu, of stirring up hatred which led to her husband's death. She said at the funeral she did not want to accept Mr Netanyahu's condolences, but shook his hand anyway because she did not want to make a scene.

"Yes, surely I blame them," Mrs Rabin said at her home. "If you ever heard their speeches at the Knesset [Parliament] you would understand what I mean. They were very, very violent in their expressions: We are selling the country down the drain. There will be no Israel after this peace agreement."

Mr Netanyahu said he did not take what Mrs Rabin said to heart because she was in deep grief. He added: "These attempts now to make political hay out of this, to try to say it is the responsibility of the Likud, is like asking whether Lee Harvey Oswald was a Republican or a Democrat and then blaming the party." Other Likud leaders say that 50 per cent of Israelis were with them in opposing the Oslo accords.

mysterious hijack is still unclear. Police have already dismissed the theory that the Almera heist was orchestrated by a rival manufacturer as "balderdash", although they readily admit that the Almera boasts levels of comfort and technology not normally associated with a family hatchback. In particular the Almera's Multilink Beam Suspension, which comes straight from Nissan's top of the range QX, and the three year or 60,000 mile warranty.



Chief Inspector Doyle: hopes INTERPOL will shed new light on heist

Any member of the public wishing for further information on the new Almera should call 0345 66 99 66.

Inspector Doyle, who is leading the inquiry, said: "To be honest, we are all at sea. A heist of this magnitude and complexity could only have been planned and executed by someone with enormous power and wealth. No one on our files fits that description, which is why we have asked INTERPOL for their help".

Nissan's cargo ship "The City of Sunderland" was sailing through the Bay of Biscay when it disappeared from radar screens late last Tuesday night. Police have now confirmed reports that a local fishing boat spotted another much larger ship in the near vicinity, but that it failed to appear on radar. The idea that one ship could swallow another is not beyond the bounds of credibility, a spokesman said. However, the thought that this larger ship may have been in possession of some sort of futuristic cloaking device has us very worried indeed!

The motive behind the

## Rifkind tries to quell exile row

MICHAEL SHERIDAN  
Jeddah

Malcolm Rifkind, the Foreign Secretary, yesterday spearheaded a damage-limitation exercise to soothe Saudi Arabia's anger over the activities of dissidents based in London.

A constant stream of propaganda and agitation from exiles opposed to the Saudi royal family has infuriated senior princes, and local businessmen believe lucrative British contracts could be at risk.

According to reliable sources, both the Interior Minister, Prince Nayef, and the Defence Minister, Prince Sultan, have expressed the desire to favour other countries over Britain in the allocation of future government business.

The issue of the dissidents was raised during the first round of talks here yesterday between

the Foreign Secretary and his Saudi counterpart, Prince Saud al-Faisal.

The Saudis want Britain to crack down on a prominent figure in the opposition, Professor Mohammed Masari, who fled the kingdom last year. He has lodged an appeal with the Home Office after his application for political asylum was rejected.

Mr Masari is a self-proclaimed revolutionary who wants to replace the Saudi monarchy, which he denounces as corrupt and irreligious, with a government adhering to the pure principles of Islam.

Mr Masari has set up the Committee for the Defence of Legitimate Rights, in north London, from where he bombards supporters in the kingdom with faxes and telephone calls.

"One or two individuals in London are given an impor-

tance far more than they deserve by the media," Mr Rifkind said after the talks. "We have no time for those who are making mischief."

British officials said both sides had agreed that the Masari affair should not affect the "perception which surrounds the relationship between Britain and Saudi Arabia". They were also at pains to represent the discussions as a dialogue in which the Saudis were aware of the mutual benefits of the relationship. The Foreign Secretary repeated the line that the British Government can take no measures against Mr Masari unless he breaks the law.

"We take action against people on the basis of their deeds, not their opinions," Mr Rifkind told a local interviewer. "If people have opinions, we may disapprove of them or dislike

them intensely but our society is such that that is something which is tolerated."

These explanations, however, have failed to make much of an impression on the absolute monarchy which governs Saudi Arabia. It is also hard for British diplomats to gauge the level of support for the dissidents in a society notable for its reticence, and carefully monitored by the secret police. Several radical clerics were detained last year after disturbances in the northern town of Buraidah, while economic austerity measures were damaging the monarchy's customary use of financial benevolence to shore up its authority.

But there have been no recent reports of trouble, while a slight rise in oil prices over the last year has enabled the government to benefit from an improved economic climate.



Hard line: Yasser Arafat at a Cairo news conference, where he urged Israel to get tough with its extremists

## For Saudi Arabia, religion holds the key

Michael Sheridan, in the first of a series on Arab reaction to Yitzhak Rabin's killing, finds just how deep is the divide between Israel and the Muslim world

King Fahd, passing the late summer in this sweltering city on the Red Sea, has bailed the role of the industrial sector in boosting development and commended the efforts of the petrochemical and refining industries.

But next to the Saudi monarch's lengthy and optimistic pronouncements, readers could digest news-agency accounts of the funeral of Yitzhak Rabin.

The satellite dishes that blossom on balconies and rooftops across Saudi cities allowed many of the kingdom's 12 million citizens to watch the sad ceremonies in Jerusalem and, indeed, to witness the audience not only of Egypt's Hosni Mubarak and Jordan's King Hussein, but also of emissaries from Saudi Arabia's Gulf neighbours, Oman and Qatar.

The Saudi newspapers discreetly made no mention of the

a rapid move to reinvigorate the negotiations, Syria's President Hafez al-Assad may let the moment pass. No doubt Saudi diplomacy and funds will now be applied to the arts of persuasion in Damascus.

But just like President Assad, Saudi Arabia itself has no in-

terest in making the public gestures of reconciliation to which leaders such as King Hussein have become accustomed. Leading members of the royal family have angrily, if privately, rebuked as "naive" American entreaties to do so.

There is a simple self-preserving reason for their stance.

Islam. Thus, while Yasser Arafat can take small comfort from the acquisition of Palestinian territory, the Saudi monarchy can see no benefit to Muslims until the issue of Jerusalem comes under discussion in the "Permanent Status negotiations," due to start in May next year but likely to be delayed.

"Saudi Arabia made no comment on the death of Rabin and I would not expect them to," said a diplomat in Jeddah. "They don't like to talk about it." observed a local newspaperman. "It is all right for Saudis to see it all on television so long as the kingdom is not brought in to the picture."

King Fahd and the dynastic system face criticism from Islamist critics, who deride the monarchy as corrupt, condemn its political proximity to the Western powers and demand its unflinching adherence to the

Sharia religious law. The Saudi government has responded by rounding up and arresting radical clergymen.

But it has simultaneously established a consultative council to mitigate discontent among the merchant class, which predominates in Jeddah, and endowed ever more mosques to satisfy the Wahhabi fundamentalists who hold sway in the desert capital of Riyadh.

As an example to all concerned, Prince Nayef bin Abdul-Aziz, the Interior Minister, has overseen an intimidating number of executions by beheading in the last year.

The sensitive interplay in Saudi society between the monarchy, the Islamic ulema, or clergy, and popular opinion provides perhaps the textbook example of how the Arab-Israeli conflict still profoundly affects the whole region.

"The problems were not solved with Arafat's agree-

ment," said a Saudi official yes-

terday. "Perhaps they are just

beginning."

## Why Rabin will be mourned by no Palestinians

Beirut — Did any Palestinians shed tears as they watched Yitzhak Rabin's funeral? "You won't find a single one," a survivor of the 1948 exodus said in Beirut. "For you, Rabin was the warrior for peace. To us, he was the man who drove the Palestinians out of Lydda in 1948 — 50,000 of them in a catastrophe at that time. For the West Bankers, he was the man who ordered the 'bone-breaking' of the *intifada* uprising. You remember his peace-making with Arafat. We remember criminal acts."

It sounded ungenerous, cruel, after the grief at the cemetery outside Jerusalem, shown live across Lebanon as television stations lifted CNN's coverage of Rabin's funeral. But the tragedy of the Palestinians is not going to be mitigated by the murder of an Israeli prime minister by an Israeli Jew. The old Damascus rejectionists — the Palestinian popular fronts and the struggle fronts and the other corrupted revolutionary cliques of the PLO — were yesterday still shouting threats against Yasser Arafat, who, according to the tire statement of the Ahmed Jibril's "General Command", will surely share Rabin's fate. But Mr Arafat's fate could be infinitely more long-drawn-out.

For, despite the predictable talk of rededication to peace, the man who shook Rabin's unwilling hand in Washington two years ago is unlikely to reap any benefits from the murder. As one of Mr Arafat's former political comrades in the Palestine National Council commented bleakly, he will be confronted by a new and weaker Shimon Peres. "Arafat will receive a visit from Peres soon," the Palestinian said.

"And he will appeal to Arafat for more concessions. 'We always told you we had to appear on our right wing,' Peres will tell Arafat. 'Now Rabin has been killed and you realise how serious our situation is. So we need more concessions.' That is what Arafat faces."

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West Bankers and Gaza Palestinians have little reason to believe in the optimism expressed by the dignitaries on Mount Herzl. Five thousand families are still waiting for their sons, brothers and husbands to be released from Israeli prisons. The remainder still have no idea of a "peace" timetable. Indeed, the repeated delays in implementing the accords so solemnly sworn between Mr Arafat and Rabin mean that neither the Palestinians nor the Israelis have any idea what the future holds.

Mr Peres has confirmed a timetable for Palestinian "redeployment" and Palestinian elections. But timetables have been changed before.

And Rabin left Israel insisting that Jerusalem would remain its eternal capital — which is not what Mr Arafat had in mind for

Robert Fisk

JPL 10/10/95

**Military in the dock:** American forces try to mend relations with outraged Okinawa islanders

## US troop presence in Japan goes on trial in rape case

RICHARD LLOYD PARRY  
Okinawa

"OJ Simpson had the right to silence," explains Sergeant Rogelio Roman to a squad of incoming Marines beneath a large sign reading "Welcome to Okinawa".

"Over here, you don't have that right. You don't have the right to say nothing till your attorney arrives, and if you think you can go out and act just how you like, you gonna get your ass kicked. They'll either get the truth out of you, or they'll get something out of you. You commit a crime out in town, and your ass is on your own."

This is a bad time to be a US Marine in Okinawa and yesterday the District Court of Naha, the island's capital, heard the reasons why. Led into court under a tortoise of police riot shields, two Marines and a Navy seaman admitted to various degrees of complicity in the rape of a 12-year-old schoolgirl two months ago. The uproar and diplomatic fallout have been unprecedented. Last month an estimated \$5,000 Okinawans rallied to demand the withdrawal of the 16 huge US bases which dominate the southern part of Okinawa. Last week, the Defense Secretary, William Perry, flew to Tokyo to apologise personally for the crime and to head off the calls for a wholesale revision of the US-Japan Security Treaty.

## Nato and Russia close to deal over peace force in Bosnia

SARAH HELM  
Brussels

Russia and Nato are hoping to announce today a breakthrough that would allow Russian troops to join the Bosnia peace implementation force.

Last-minute negotiations were still under way last night, but expectations were high that William Perry, the US Defense Secretary, and Pavel Grachev, the Russian Defence Minister, would be able to announce an agreement after a meeting at Nato headquarters here today.

Although the Russians are being asked to accept less than joint command, Moscow now appears ready to compromise.

"The Russians are very keen to have a role in the peace enforcement force because they believe it will work," a Russian analyst said.

He promised "programmes directed at our younger service members that will try to ensure that such heinous acts are not repeated". But they were ominously cautious words: as almost everyone in Okinawa acknowledges, there is very little that can be done to prevent something similar happening again.

Sergeant Rogelio's "Welcome Aboard Briefing" seems to acknowledge this. For all its frankness, it is shockingly practical: "Don't get caught, rather than don't do it, is the message. There's always 10 per cent who think they can break the system and do what they want. But a 12-year-old! What did they get out of that?" asks the sergeant. "It's not even worth it — especially when there's so many women want American men. If you're about to commit a crime, just think about first."

The officers, understandably enough, use a different set of statistics. "Ninety-nine per cent of soldiers on this island are professional, competent, upstanding citizens," says Colonel Stuart Wagner of the 3rd Marine Expeditionary Force. "But there's only so much you can do."

Alcohol is no longer sold on base (although it can be freely bought in town, where the real damage is done). A big area of bars and nightclubs has been placed off-limits after midnight (to the fury of local business whose livelihood depends on a

"The Japanese army was the same during the war — armies are the same everywhere," says Teruko Kuwae, of the women's section of Okinawa City. "



Shielded: Police form a 'tortoise' to hide the three US servicemen accused of rape as they leave a detention centre to appear in court in Naha, Okinawa's capital

## international

### Juppé in 'new start' shuffle

MARY DEJEVSKY  
Paris

The French Prime Minister, Alain Juppé, announced a major reshuffle of his government last night, less than six months after taking office. One-third of his ministers were replaced, mainly in areas of social and budgetary policy, where there had been open disagreement; portfolios were regrouped to reduce overlapping; and the overall size of the Cabinet was reduced by a quarter.

Mr Juppé's office said that the reshuffle was intended to make the government more "united" and "effective".

Mr Juppé submitted his resignation and that of his government to President Jacques Chirac yesterday morning. He was immediately reappointed and asked to form a new government. By the end of the day all the most senior ministers — economy, justice, interior, foreign affairs and defence — had been reappointed, with the changes concentrated in the troublesome areas of health, social policy and the budget.

Mr Juppé's decision to submit his resignation rather than simply announce a reshuffle allowed him to receive a renewed pledge of confidence from President Chirac, and to give the impression of a new beginning. Polls released yesterday showed the government with an approval rating of only 34 per cent, after declining steadily over the summer.

The main winner yesterday was Jacques Barrot, who takes over a reconstituted super-ministry responsible for health, social affairs and his previous portfolio of employment. Mr Juppé had experimented with dispersing the various departments among separate ministries, but has now reverted to the formula preferred by his predecessors.

Several supporters of the former prime minister, Edouard Balladur, have also been brought back, including Alain Lamassoure — Mr Balladur's Europe minister — who becomes budget minister and government spokesman. Over the past month a group of Balladur's MPs has been making life difficult for the government, especially in budget debates, where they forced through several amendments and blocked abolition of tax relief on life-insurance policies.

Among the main losers were the women ministers, who had come under increasing attack for "lack of experience" and a tendency to step out of line. Elisabeth Hubert, the health minister, had blotted her copybook by announcing a steep increase in "hotel" charges for hospital stays before discussion of social security changes was complete. Fewer than half the original 12 women ministers remain in the government.

Yesterday's reshuffle came 10 days after President Chirac had said that his "absolute priority" was reducing the budget deficit. His statement was widely seen as a U-turn intended to preserve the value of the franc and convince the Germans that France was on course to join a single European currency by 1999.

*"When the stock market gets too much, I turn to my executive toy."*



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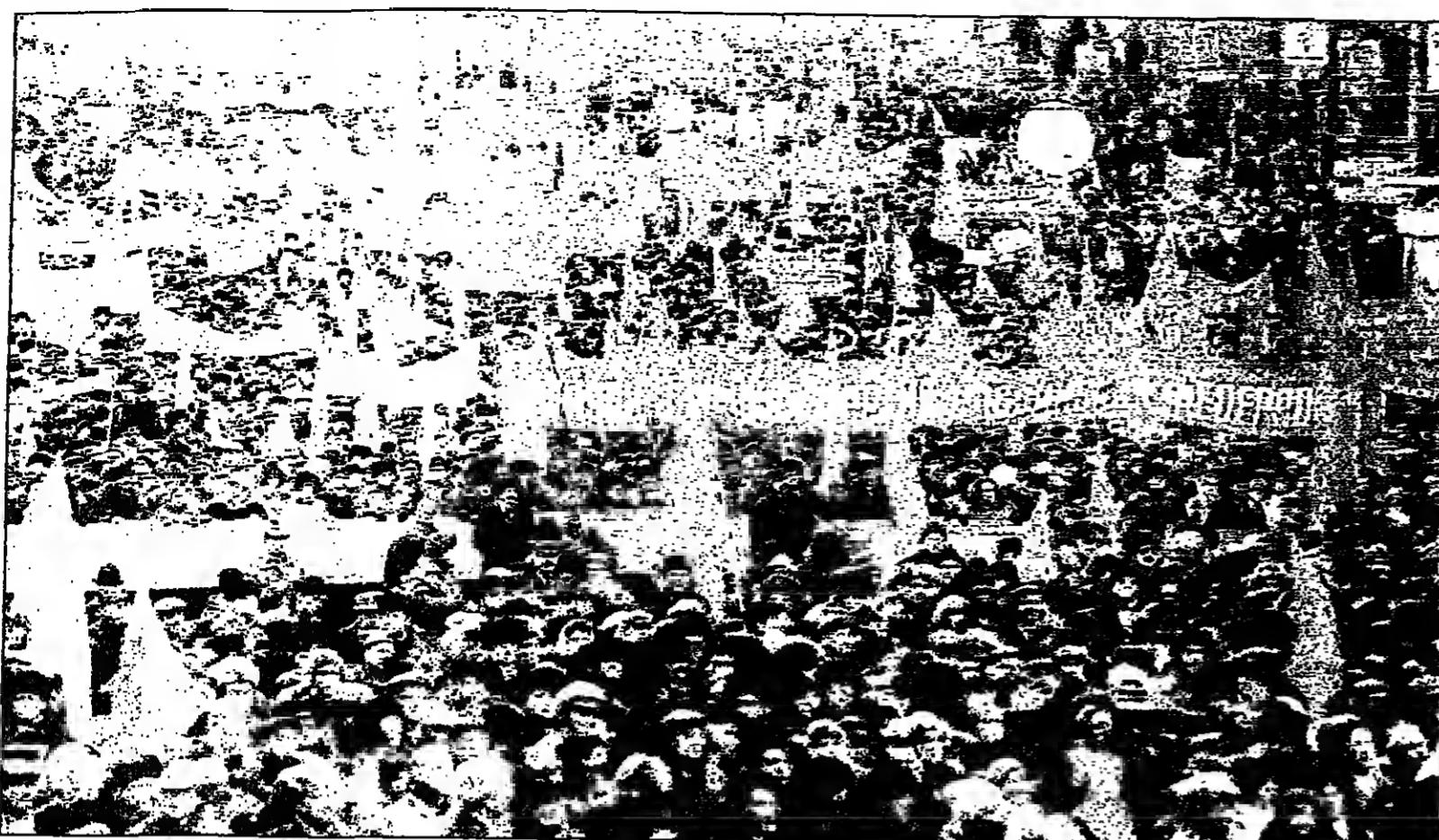
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# international



Lenin's disciples: Communists marching in Moscow to mark the 78th anniversary of the 1917 Revolution

Photograph: Viktor Korotayev/Reuter

## Red flags fly as Bolsheviks' heirs honour revolution

PHIL REEVES  
MOSCOW

Take a giant skittle, put it in a blue peaked hat and a greatcoat and place it under the statue of Karl Marx opposite the Bolshoi Theatre on a freezing winter's morning in the middle of Moscow. Draw in a strip of grey hair, eyes and a clutch of shoulder pipes, and there would stand Colonel Valerian Borisovich Stepanov.

Beyond him in the square were about 5,000 others, a fraction of the number who spent yesterday's holiday at Communist-organised rallies, ostensibly to mark the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution but really to listen to contemporary arguments about what to do about the evils of the free market, the mafia, poverty, crime and the West.

The trouble was that all the good party workers were sent to the front during the Great Patriotic War, leaving drunks, drunks and no-hoppers behind.

He moaned. Yet he felt Gennady Zyuganov, head of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, who stood a few yards away, was a "good man".

Strange this, from someone

who appears to be a military hardliner, that breed of Communist which has never accepted *perestroika*, or what

followed. Did he not mind that Mr Zyuganov, whose party leads the opinion polls for next month's parliamentary elections and who is seen as a presidential candidate, calls himself a progressive and bob-nobs with Western businessmen and politicians? "What's wrong with that?" Stalin sat down with Churchill and Roosevelt, didn't he?" he replied.

Communists are not what they used to be, the colonel lamented, as he looked at the crowd of mostly elderly people who had weathered the terrors of Stalinism but who had forgotten, or never knew, how bad they were. The occasional portrait of Josef Vissarionovich glared around amid the bright red flags.

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Mr Zyuganov himself toed his usual pragmatic line. "It's wonderful to see the open, honest faces of people who have never betrayed the highest ideals of goodness and justice, the red flag ... and the best ideals of Communism," he said, in his monotone baritone.

Above the crowd's steamy breath flashed a giant electronic board - another reminder of how changed Russia is. It carried an advertisement from a rival party, the centrist "Our Home is Russia".

As his speech closed, there were cheers. But not from everyone. Russia's Communists have their internal rivalries.

"Zyuganov is just afraid of the international imperialists and the forces of capitalism," Viktor Ampilov, head of the Russian Communist Workers' Party, said afterwards. "He believes there is a middle way. But we believe there should be no compromise in the struggle against exploitation."

There was probably loudest applause for Bill Davis, of the Workers' World Party's New York branch, who called for the Soviet Union to "rise again". The colonel and other military men beneath the statue of Marx looked pleased.

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WASHINGTON DAYS

## Be grateful for the official welcome, buddy

It wasn't until right at the very end of a trip to Montreal a couple of weeks ago that I came across the first plausible argument in favour of independence for Quebec, Canada. I discovered, is a colony of the United States.

After I had checked in at Montreal Airport for my flight home to Washington I had to go through immigration control. I unsuspectingly handed over my passport to a uniformed woman behind a high white desk. I had 20 minutes before the departure of my flight, so I was not unduly concerned - if a little surprised - at the time she was taking to establish my *bona fides*.

This was the Commonwealth after all and my short Canadian visit had provided a civil, easygoing respite from the harshness of the United States. "There's something wrong here," the woman said. Before I could remonstrate she ordered me to step into a glass-enclosed bin where "a supervisor" would submit my credentials to further examination. I would have said: "But what's the problem? I'm leaving your country, not entering it, and anyway, I'm British, dammit, and we allow you people to carry the picture of the Queen on your currency." Or words to that effect.

But then I realised my mistake. The woman was wearing a "US Immigration and Naturalization Service" badge on her white shirt. She was American! The Canadians had stooped to the indignity of allowing some species in US officialdom to be established on their own sacred soil. *Vive le Quebec libre!* I muttered under my breath.

Americans have their own views as to which branch of the federal government is most deserving of contempt. Some say it is the FBI; others the CIA; others the income-tax collectors. But I, as a foreigner, have long viewed immigration officials with special distaste.

Years of ungracious encounters have taught me to view them as humourless robots programmed to judge you guilty until proven innocent, to convey a sense that it is a colossal privilege to be allowed into the country they patrol.

Anyway, there I was, waiting for a man with metallic forearms to complete his interrogation of a French-speaking Canadian who had a return ticket home but no visa. My plane was leaving in 10 minutes. The officer turned to me, hands on hips, and barked: "Sir, will you sit down?" I glanced at a row of plastic seats. "Look, I have a plane to catch ..." "Sit down!" "I don't want to sit down this minute I'm gonna call the RCMP!" Which meant the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

I sat down, reflecting that the Canadians had retained some semblance of national pride after all and that, perhaps, this was not the time to be standing up for my rights. My plane was

leaving in five minutes. He beckoned me over, glanced at my visa and discovered there was nothing wrong with it. Reluctantly, he handed back my passport. I ran down an interminable corridor to my plane only to discover it had been delayed by half an hour.

Which was a relief but did nothing to deter me from building up a volcano head of resentment as I stood at yet another immigration queue, in Miami airport, last weekend. Again I had a flight to make, a connection to Washington.

When my turn eventually came I slapped my passport down on the desk, opened a magazine and started reading it. These people crave respect. Well, they weren't going to get it from me. After a while I glanced up and noticed that the officer was shaking her head. "This is weird, really weird," she said. "What d'you mean? This is a perfectly legitimate visa - stamped on my passport by your own government!" "This is weird, weird," she intoned. Then she pressed a button and a red light came on over her head.

A male robot from an adjoining booth stepped into the fray. "Look, buddy," he spat. "We can keep you here all night if you like." "Look, buddy," I spat back. "I pay your salary. I'm a non-voting American tax-payer and I've got a plane to catch."

He was enraged. He wanted to hit me. These people think they're gods. Well, as far as I'm concerned they're civil servants and all I want is civil service. I told him as much. He looked at my visa. "It's OK," he mumbled. "Let him through." I snatched my passport and stormed off with a "Jesus Christ!" He ran after me. This time I really thought he was going to hit me. I stared him down, turned and walked away, savoring my victory.

A pretty victory, I reflected on the flight to Washington. I had been rude and I felt bad. If you're reading this, buddies, I'm sorry. You were only doing your job. It's not your fault if human kindness is not on the curriculum at the INS training course. But, as you Americans say, I was mad as hell and I just couldn't take it any more.

John Carlin

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July 1995

Joy in 150

# international

**Commonwealth summit:** Nigeria and Britain in villains' roles, while red carpet awaits Mandela

## Auckland braced for anti-Major protests

STEVE CRAWSHAW  
Auckland

Things are so well organised here in the run-up to this week's Commonwealth conference that even the demonstrators have been holding rehearsals. In advance of expected clashes with police this week, a core group of protesters has been practising how to resist arrest.

Officially, everything is perfect. "The city of Auckland welcomes delegates to the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting" say banners stretched across the streets.

The biennial Commonwealth conference (abbreviated to Chogm) begins officially on Friday and the authorities are determined to ensure everything goes smoothly.

This is the biggest international political conference New Zealand has held. Forty of the 52 Commonwealth leaders will be here. The Queen arrived last week and arrived in the city yesterday. John Major, Nelson Mandela and the Canadian Prime Minister, Jean Chrétien, will also have an official bilateral programme, as part of their stay.

For Mr Major, tomorrow's meeting with the host, Jim Bolger, will be less relaxed than it would normally be. Britain is the target of anger over its perceived softness on France regarding nuclear testing - a sensitive issue in the region.

A rally has been called for tomorrow under the rallying-cry "Major Outrage" in Queen Elizabeth Square. Demonstrations are likely to continue during the conference.

Inside the conference hall, Nigeria will be the main target because of the death sentence passed last week on the writer Ken Saro-Wiwa, apparently on trumped-up charges. His son, also named Ken, arrived in

Auckland yesterday to publicise his father's case and press for sanctions. For the moment, the Nigerian military leader, General Sani Abacha, is still due to turn up in Auckland but Commonwealth officials suggest a late cancellation is on the cards. If General Abacha comes, he will provide a lightning-rod for the entire conference.

President Mandela, attending his first Commonwealth conference, is likely to be the hero of the hour. He is due to speak at the opening session and other countries may look to South Africa for moral leadership of the Commonwealth itself.

Although parts of the city will be closed off during the conference, many Aucklanders seem pleased, despite the inconveniences that the summit is being held here. "It's nice that people are looking at us, from all over the world," one said.

But there are dissenting voices. The *New Zealand Herald* complained about the arrangements. "Commonwealth heads evidently cannot be safely conveyed a few blocks in normal traffic," it said. "Inner-city streets will be cleared, supposedly for security, but more than likely so that the guests may be driven in the grandeur they have come to expect. It may be the Chogm style, but it is not the New Zealand way."

After the plenary sessions, the leaders will head off for a "re-treat" to hammer out the communiqué. Nigeria's abuses of human rights must be addressed. Sanctions seem unlikely, as the Commonwealth prefers persuasion to threats, but the course of action will be influenced by what Nigeria says in the next few days. The Commonwealth Secretary-General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku (himself Nigerian) has made it clear he wishes the conference to send a tough message to Nigeria.



Air to the throne: Anti-royalist protester Sam Brancan spray the car of the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh with air freshener, because he says they stink  
Photograph: John Stillwell/AFP

## Dole campaign given a vital fillip

RUPERT CORNWELL  
Washington

Senator Bob Dole has strengthened his position against a possible challenge from retired general Colin Powell by winning the backing of Governor Stephen Merrill of New Hampshire, where the first primary of the 1996 election will be held in just over three months.

Governor Merrill's move, which he may announce today, is another sign that Gen Powell may find the Republican nomination next year is no pushover. Although the general is ahead of Mr Dole in the

polls in New Hampshire, aligned against him now is the state's young and highly popular Republican Governor, whose endorsement - and organisational clout - has been sought by every candidate.

Gen Powell is due to reveal in the next fortnight if he will run. No one knows which way he will jump but on one point there is universal agreement: for him to win the nomination, victory in New Hampshire is all but essential. "This is an effort by Dole to scare Powell out of the race," said one strategist. It would now be "very difficult for Gen Powell to put something to-

gether" in the state, said Vin Weber, a national chairman of the Dole campaign.

Mr Merrill's support for Mr Dole, who holds a commanding lead in the field of declared Republicans, will strengthen doubts about Gen Powell on the party's conservative wing. The Governor had seemed keen on him but this week criticised the liberal leanings of many Powell supporters: "I would have a lot more trouble supporting him than I originally thought."

The endorsement will be a much-needed fillip for Mr Dole's campaign, of late immobilised by the speculation

about a Powell candidacy and undermined by growing doubts about his age. Were he to win the White House, the senator would be 73 on taking office.

Meanwhile, elections were taking place in 15 states yesterday. The most closely watched were in Virginia, where Republicans were trying to win outright control of a Southern state's legislature for the first time since Reconstruction. Kentucky could also elect its first Republican governor in 30 years. Either outcome would confirm that the Republican tide so evident in 1994 has not yet run its course.

## Peking set to water down HK's Bill of Rights

STEPHEN VINES  
Hong Kong

China is proposing to reintroduce to Hong Kong some of the more draconian colonial laws which were abandoned after the introduction of a Bill of Rights in the colony four years ago. The move has united political opinion in the colony to an extent not seen since the 1989 Tiananmen Square massacre. Yesterday the legal-affairs

sub-group of China's Preliminary Working Committee (PWC), the advisory body to the Chinese government on Hong Kong's change of sovereignty in 1997, concluded that it would stick by its controversial proposals to water down the Bill of Rights and bring back laws which limit civil rights.

The advisers originally proposed the changes to the laws last month, provoking an immediate outcry. Peking then took the unusual step of dispatching three legal experts to Hong Kong to explain the policy.

At one meeting the three香港人 rang an audience of government advisers from district councils for two-and-a-half hours. No one in the audience was allowed to speak.

Sources say that the real reason for China's refusal to listen to the opposition is that the proposals from the PWC were endorsed by the "Hong Kong Committee", a body whose existence is not publicly acknowledged, although it is headed by China's President Jiang Zemin and includes the Prime Minister, Li Peng, and Foreign Minister, Qian Qichen, as well as the two senior officials directly responsible for Hong Kong affairs. It is difficult to reverse decisions taken at this level. An attempt by Britain to discuss the matter last week in Peking was dismissed as "outside interference".

British officials believe that changes to the Bill of Rights would contravene the 1984 Sino-British agreement. Opposition to the proposals is mounting and is likely to be well aired next week, when Hong Kong's Legislative Council holds an emergency debate.

Under the proposals the Bill of Rights will lose its predominance over other legislation which is deemed to transgress its provisions. Old colonial laws will

be restored, such as those giving powers to censor television and banning groups from associating with overseas political organisations. It would bring back a law requiring groups of more than 30 to apply for permission before holding public gatherings.

Behind this is a real fear of losing control in the colony. "The leaders are really worried about people taking to the streets and things running amok," said a PWC member.

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### IN BRIEF

#### Walesa lags by 2 points

Warsaw — The ex-Communist leader Aleksander Kwasniewski was ahead of the incumbent, Lech Walesa, by 2 percentage points in Sunday's first round of presidential voting, according to official election results. Kwasniewski, the 41-year-old former Communist sports minister, received 35.11 per cent of the vote on Sunday. Mr Walesa, the 52-year-old former shipyard electrician, and Solidarity leader, won 33.11 per cent. AP

#### Youths seek political asylum

Jakarta — Eight East Timorese youths sought political asylum in the Dutch embassy in Jakarta yesterday, the second such group to seek refuge in a European mission in as many months, according to embassy officials. "They just ran through the gate," a spokesman said. "We could not stop them." Reuter

#### Soldier kills 14 before committing suicide

Kigali — A Rwandan government soldier shot dead 14 people and wounded 14 before turning his gun on himself in south-western Rwanda. State radio said the soldier opened fire on a mob which was angry that he had stabbed to death a local resident in a bar room. Reuter

#### Assassination attempt suspect arrested

Harare — Zimbabwean police said yesterday they had arrested a second man in connection with an alleged assassination attempt on the exiled former Ethiopian dictator Mengistu Haile Mariam last weekend. A police spokesman said the man, an Ethiopian, was arrested on Saturday morning at a city flat. Reuter

#### S Korea business chiefs face questioning

Seoul — South Korean state prosecutors have summoned for questioning the heads of the country's five top business conglomerates over ex-president Roh Tae-woo's slush funds, state radio said. The chiefs of Hyundai, Samsung, LG, Daewoo and Sunkyong have been ordered to appear today. Reuter

#### Slavery, torture and rape rise in Sudan

New York — Slavery, abductions, torture and rape, mainly by government security forces, have increased in Sudan despite international protests, according to a UN report. Gaspar Biro, the UN special rapporteur for human rights for Sudan, said there had been an alarming increase in the number of reported cases of "slavery, servitude and forced labour". Reuter

#### Briton awaits verdict on murder charge

Singapore — John Martin, also known as John Martin Scripps, a 35-year-old Briton on trial for the murder and dismemberment of a South African tourist, will bear the court's verdict on Friday. If convicted, he will become the first Westerner to be hanged for a non-drugs offence in Singapore, where the death penalty is mandatory for murder. Reuter

#### Youths die in palace blaze

Antananarivo — Four Malagasy youths were killed trying to save antiquities from a blaze that gutted a royal palace in Madagascar. The palace, which once belonged to the last queen of the island, was destroyed in the fire on Monday. Reuter

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JY 10 1520

Yesterday's Ordtech court case casts new light on how government operates as a law unto itself, writes Paul Vallely

# Dark world of Britain's secret foreign policy

You could be forgiven for turning the page. So now the hitherto unimpeachable Douglas Hurd has been fingered in the latest round of the impenetrable and seemingly unending Arms-to-Iraq scandal. And we have a new hit-part player - Paul Grecian, managing director of arms suppliers Ordtech, who managed to spy simultaneously for MI5, MI6 and Special Branch - to add to the dramatics personae of this tortuous epic.

Yet what does it signify? Deceit and double-dealing is the stock-in-trade of the world of diplomacy and the other dark arts of foreign policy. Who cares, beyond the coterie of *politicians* involved and the obsessive little group of investigative journalists who pursue them?

But wait. There is more to all this than an accumulation of the kind of details we might normally find only in the middle pages of a John Le Carré novel. Yesterday's court case tells us something rather revealing about the way we have been governed for the past two decades.

It casts light on how Whitehall operates as a dark and secret place whose inhabitants know well how to hide the thimbles they need to. It shows how power corrupts by confusing the interests of the party in government with those of the nation itself. It shows how the Cold War undermined the primacy of truth and made it respectable to lie in government

sold, via Jordan, shell fuses to the Iraqi dictator.

None of this might ever have been known had it not been for an independent investigation by HM Customs & Excise which, during the Gulf War, was alerted to earlier breaches of the embargo against the nation that was now the national enemy.

In February 1992, a strike was brought at Reading Crown Court against four men working with Ordtech. The defendants claimed that the Government was aware that Jordan was being used as a conduit for exports to Iraq. They asked for government documents to be produced to prove their case.

But "public interest immunity certificates" declaring that the material was too sensitive for the courtroom were signed by Kenneth Baker, then Home Secretary, and Peter Lilley, then Trade and Industry Secretary. Ordtech's managing director, Paul Grecian, and three others were found guilty.

The wall had not yet fallen in Berlin. Western governments were still immersed in

a foreign policy culture in which the truth was not told. The Cold War ethos relegated truth in favour of strategic advantage. A culture of mendacity was created. Before long it went beyond its military purpose and spread insidiously through the whole system of government, encouraging everyone - as was all too clearly to emerge - to obscure the truth for their own reasons.

With the nod from the Government, British firms began supplying the Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein. The Sheffield firm Matrix Churchill shipped out parts for Saddam's intercontinental super-guns. The arms firm Astra through a subsidiary supplied the gun. Ordnance Technologies Ltd (Ordtech)

That power corrupts is now a truism. But it does not just apply to the dictators of Africa. It applies to the elective dictatorship which has taken root in Britain since the war whereby governments exercise power largely unchecked by Parliament.

Four uninterrupted terms of Conservative government have made it easy for ministers to think of their own party interests as synonymous with the interests of the nation. Arrogance has crept in. They have begun to assume, not only that they cannot be wrong, but that the motives of those who criticise them are to be mistrusted. It was an attitude not restricted to those outside the party - even within those who raised questions were marked down as "one of us".

The Ordtech Four were convicted in February 1992. But later that year, in November, a similar case against the Matrix Churchill businessmen collapsed when the judge objected to the use of the immunity device. The next day the Government set up the Scott inquiry into the affair. As it began on its mammoth task - which eventually involved seeing 200 witnesses in 430 hours of evidence supported by 200,000 pages of documents - Ordtech decided to appeal.

One of the most revealing moments in the Scott process was when the former Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe decided to launch a blistering attack on it, condemning the eminent judge at its head of being "detective, inquisitor, advocate and judge".

His attempt at a pre-emptive strike was only the first of an increasing number of attacks on judges by leading Tory politicians. The phenomenon prompted some quizzical comments yesterday by Lord Alexander, the former chairman of the Bar Council. He expressed concern at the recent attack on Lord Justice Taylor when he questioned the

## What they said...

Geoffrey Howe, author of original guidelines announced to Parliament in 1985. They banned the supply of Iran and Iraq of arms and equipment that could lengthen the war. Restrictions relaxed after 1988 ceasefire, allowing exports which did not enhance offensive capability. Change kept secret to avoid outcry - after gassing of Kurds by Iraq.

John Major. Said he knew nothing about operation of guidelines when Chief Secretary to the Treasury (1987-89), Foreign Secretary (1989), Chancellor (1989-90) or Prime Minister (1990-).

Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister until 1990. Told Scott Inquiry she knew nothing about how guidelines operated. Only "the big things" came to her.

William Waldegrave, Foreign Office minister 1988-90. Told Scott Inquiry that guidelines were not changed.

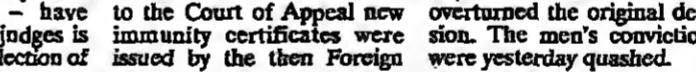
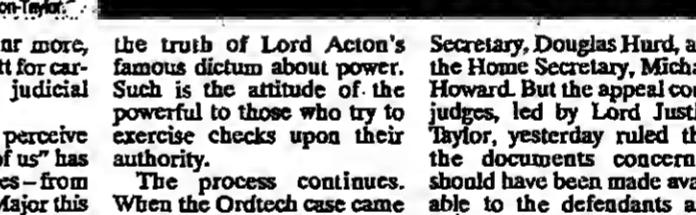
Alan Clark, trade minister 1986-89 and defence minister 1989-92. Said guidelines were "so imprecise and so obviously drafted with the objective of flexibility, even elasticity, in mind as to make them fair game".

Douglas Hurd, Foreign Secretary 1989-95. Told Scott Inquiry there was no evidence of ministers involving "in some secret and wicked and wrong conspiracy".

Dismissed responsibility for actions of subordinates. "By definition, ministers are not going to reach down [for information] because they do not know what there is to reach for."

Efficiency of Michael Howard's Tory conference suggestion that parole he scrapped. Lord Alexander also questioned the attempts by government ministers "to ask the public, which has not heard the facts of a case, to write commenting on judicial decisions; to point out that a particular judge has had judgments reversed on appeal before; to whisper, or more, to Nolan or Scott for carrying out their judicial inquiries..."

The tendency to perceive judges as "not one of us" has continued. That Tories - from Howe to Scott, to Major this week with Nolan - have turned negative on judges is also an increasing reflection of



It is not over yet. Sir Richard Scott is now writing and his report is expected to be published in the new year. The House of Commons has a select committee investigating allegations of arms to Iran. There is also a Customs & Excise inquiry into that matter.

Given the history of endemic secrecy that has surrounded government and the making of foreign policy throughout the Cold War, one has to ask the questions: why has it all come out? Why were the original prosecutions ever allowed? Why did not ministers lean on someone high up in HM Customs and tell them to drop their original investigations?

"I was never able to find out anything which gave even a hint of why that was not done," said someone close to the heart of government policy in this area yesterday.

Ironically, the answer may lie in the instincts of the administration which succeeded that of Mrs Thatcher to row back on some of the excesses of her regime. As Simon Jenkins has chronicled in impressive detail in his recent book, *Accountable To None*, the Thatcher years - contrary to all their rhetoric about getting power back to the people - saw a great increase in the process of government centralisation under the banner of centralising authority over spending. Its extent was dramatic - in local authorities, housing, schools and universities, the police and legal systems. The quango culture spawned.

It was John Major who - apparently sharing the view that Mrs Thatcher had become overmighty - appointed a minister for open government, established the Citizen's Charter and accelerated the demystification of the secret services in the post-Cold War era. As De Tocqueville pointed out, it is when the lid comes off that the explosions occur.

All round them the Tories now see that their system is falling apart. Time after time they make desperate attempts to grab and save a bit. "Where will it end? Where will it end?" asked Conservative backbenchers plaintively during this week's Nolan debate. Where indeed.

## Jerusalem Diary

TOM SAWICKI

We did not want the morning to come. Hundreds of thousands of us waited for hours for a chance to take one last look at the simple wooden casket wrapped in an Israeli flag which lay in state in Jerusalem on the plaza in front of the Knesset, Israel's parliament. We wished time would stop so we would not have to let go of Yitzhak Rabin and see him buried, and with him our hopes and dreams.

The sidewalk by the prime minister's official residence in central Jerusalem was covered with wax from thousands of memorial candles placed there by the Israelis holding personal vigils. Large pools of candle wax also covered the pavements along the route to Mount Herzl, Israel's national cemetery. At one spot a girl, aged no more than 10, collected pebbles to create her own memorial, the name Rabin spelt out with little stones.

Jerusalem does not let you forget that it is a city of strong, uncompromising and clashing emotions. At one spot on the main Jaffa Road, crowds placid still more candles. In the early morning of the day of the funeral, three young men suddenly appeared and kicked the candles aside before others standing nearby screamed and jumped at them. Luckily for the three, a police van screeched to a halt a moment later. The policemen, it transpired, had been following the youths after a complaint from someone who had seen them kicking candles elsewhere. The police took them away in the van, but not before the trio had dropped on the street a bunch of leaflets with biblical phrases praising those who kill the "enemies of Israel".

On the day of the funeral we go back to work. I pass hand-painted signs with Rabin's name and a sentence from the Kaddish, the memorial prayer. "He who makes peace in heaven", and yet more candles. Small groups of people gather around holding transistor radios which broadcast non-stop the events of the day. A religious man in black garb, standing on a corner, is holding up a small sign with the words: "I am ashamed". "Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not kill," he repeats over and over again. "I am ashamed because a religious man killed Rabin," he explains when I question him. Then something out of the ordinary happens. A street sweeper, who has been working nearby, goes up to the man, grabs at his hand, and kisses it. The sweeper is an Arab and he says something in Arabic, which I do not understand. He switches to a broken Hebrew and explains: "We also believe that it is wrong to murder."

Shortly before 2pm, I go out into the street. We know that, at two exactly, a siren will sound to mark the

confused but before I can explain, the wall begins - a long, piercing sound that lasts for two minutes. The tourist looks around and I can see his jaw drop. Moments later he says his has never seen anything like this. Everything has stopped, no one moves, cars halt in the middle of the street, drivers get out and stand to attention.

That night we go up to Mount Herzl with flowers and candles. We tell ourselves that we are doing this for our children, to help them to mourn the loss. But to tell the truth, we are doing it for ourselves. Thousands of Israelis have the same idea. The grave is fast becoming a place of pilgrimage, almost impossible to get near.

The worst security and organisational nightmare on the day of the funeral was faced by Jerusalem's King David Hotel, the city's best, and the only place for visiting dignitaries. Luckily, most heads of state did not want to sleep overnight, but all needed a place to wash, eat and change, and the hotel coped masterfully. A list was drawn up to work out who would get the best rooms, with royalty at the top, followed by presidents in order of precedence according to the size of their rooms.

John Major caused the hotel's chefs a problem when it turned out that the list of his favourite foods they had been given was out of date, superseded by healthier fare. The contents of either pre- or post-diet list remain private - "good, hearty, traditional English foods" apparently, though the strictly kosher King David would certainly not have provided bacon and eggs had they been requested.

Many of the statesmen covered their heads at the graveside, and Israelis particularly appreciated those like Prince Charles who came equipped with their own skullcaps. Hosni Mubarak of Egypt was hatless, but quickly borrowed one from an official - which explains why he was sporting a blue baseball cap.

Jerusalem is a small town. Walk down any street and you'll run into someone you know. Many public figures walk around with little or no security - though this may now change. Everybody is on first-name terms with the mayor - it was Teddy (Kollek) for some 27 years and it's been Ehud (Olmer) for the past two years.

But who would have his job? It is a tradition that the mayor is accessible to one and all - no one would hesitate to ring his house and speak to the mayor himself about any problem from rubbish collection to howling dogs. Call in the evening and you're pretty sure to get the mayor himself. If you have to leave a message he will ring you back promptly.

Jerusalem has known many upheavals - it has been conquered and reconquered at least 40 times in its 3,000-plus history. When it expanded past its ancient ramparts in the early 1900s it was lucky that the British were in charge. They declared that only the "Jerusalem stone", a local limestone, should be used to build in the city. The stone was used to build Herod's Jerusalem and the Jerusalem of the Muslims. But some architects are becoming rebellious. They have suggested a compromise - buildings that are half Jerusalem stone and half glass, for instance. But so far the city's naturally conservative residents are resisting. Many feel as I do - the unchanging stone reminds us that people only pass through here, but the city remains constant.

The author is a senior writer for *Jerusalem Report*.

the truth of Lord Acton's famous dictum about power. Such is the attitude of the powerful to those who try to exercise checks upon their authority.

The process continues. When the Ordtech case came to the Court of Appeal new immunity certificates were issued by the then Foreign

Secretary, Douglas Hurd, and the Home Secretary, Michael Howard. But the appeal court judges, led by Lord Justice Taylor, yesterday ruled that the documents concerned should have been made available to the defendants and overturned the original decision. The men's convictions were yesterday quashed.

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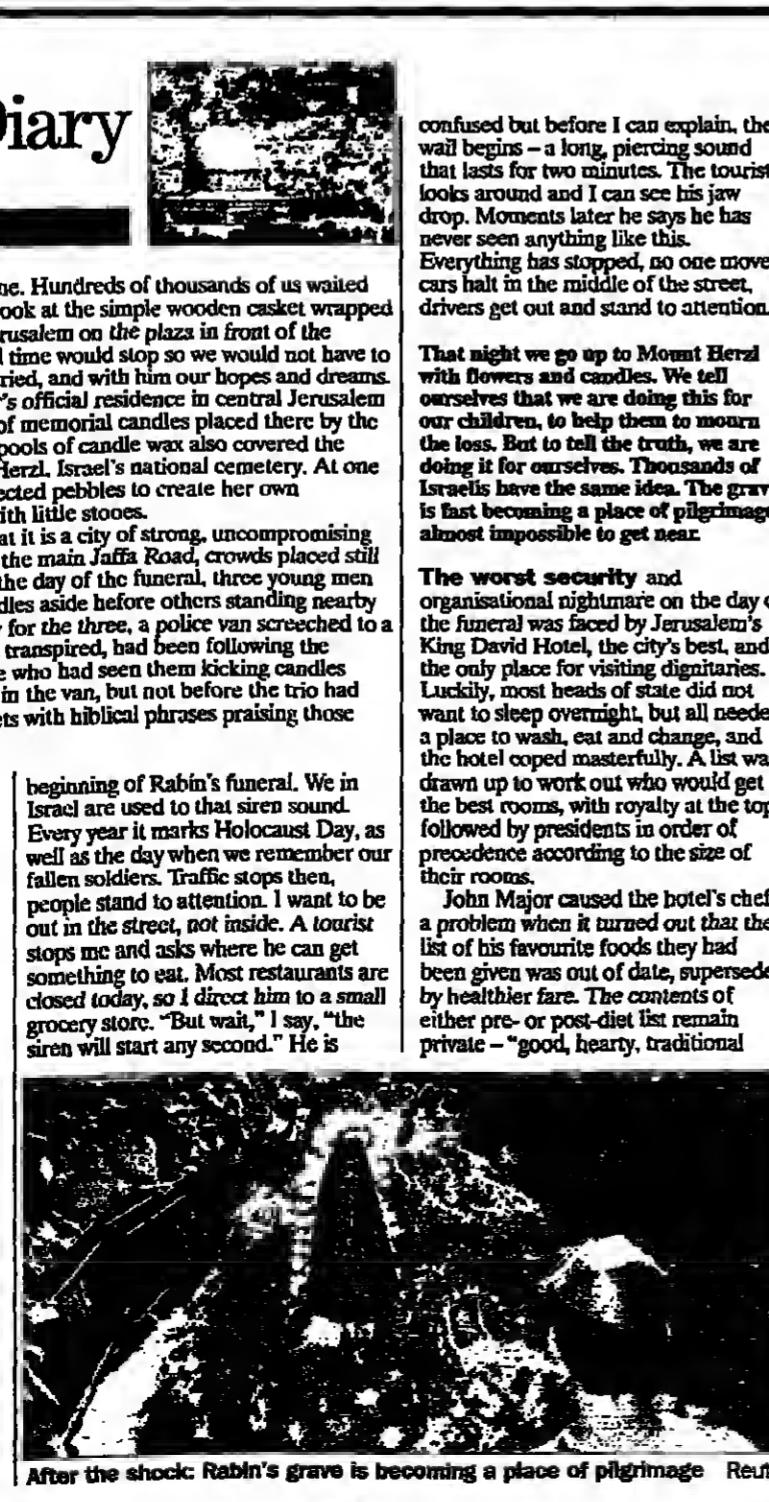
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After the shock: Rabin's grave is becoming a place of pilgrimage. Reuter

JY/11/95

# INDEPENDENT

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ONE CANADA SQUARE CANARY WHARF LONDON E14 5DL  
TELEPHONE 0171-293 2000/0171-345 2000 FAX 0171-293 2435/0171-345 2435

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## Publish quickly, Sir Richard

The heart of any government's credibility lies in its commitment to justice. Yet who, after yesterday's events, can still have faith in the honour of this administration? It is increasingly difficult to dispel the suspicion that ministers were prepared to go to any lengths, even perverting the legal system, to save their own skins.

In 1992 the Government allowed four businessmen to be convicted over arms sales to Iraq which had been approved by ministers. For three years, until yesterday, that miscarriage of justice was allowed to stand, though there was documentary evidence, to which the Government was privy, that ministers had condoned the sales.

These revelations are more serious even than those that led to the collapse of the Matrix Churchill trial in 1992. In that instance, the defendants were also tried over arms sales to Iraq. But at least that case did not result in convictions; a former minister, Alan Clark, played a key role in destroying the prosecution case when he revealed in court the extent of government knowledge about what had gone on. This time, ministers seem to have done their best to keep the truth hidden.

It becomes ever clearer that through the late Eighties Britain had a secret foreign policy to allow Saddam Hussein's regime to be supplied with weapons via Jordan. Parliament was not told. As far as MPs were aware, the 1984 guidelines still applied: that neither Iraq nor Iran should be supplied with lethal equipment. The public was not informed that the rules were slightly relaxed in 1988, and in any case were being widely flouted. And when the secret seemed likely to slip out during trials of the arms salesmen, doc-

uments demonstrating government duplicity were suppressed using public interest immunity certificates (PIICs).

It is not difficult to understand why officials and ministers would be keen to hush up this scandal. If the country involved had been different, governed by any old tinpot dictatorship, perhaps the public would not have cared so much about a breach of guidelines. Most people would have turned a blind eye to the cavalier way in which British foreign policy was formulated. But Iraq is different. In 1991 Britain went to war with Saddam Hussein. British servicemen risked their lives against an enemy who was believed to have chemical and biological weapons and was ready to use them. Selling arms to Baghdad was not only duplicitous. It was also a strategic blunder.

The last time the Foreign Office made a big mistake and Britain ended up at war was over the Falklands. On that occasion, heads rolled: Lord Carrington, the Foreign Secretary, resigned. This time, those who allowed Saddam to arm himself hid behind PIICs and were prepared to let innocent men face conviction and personal ruin.

The authoritative account of how we were misled, and how errors and half-truths were covered up, has yet to be published. We still await the report of Sir Richard Scott, whose inquiry was set up three years ago. Only he can now clear up the atmosphere of deceit and subterfuge that has tarnished Britain's legal system and sullied the reputation of government. Every month that he delays his report does further damage. Publish quickly, Sir Richard.

## Who's afraid of Rodney?

You can't say we didn't tell you. Usually only a foolish person would confidently predict the result of a democratic election three years before it is held. Nevertheless, at the end of October 1992 this newspaper said that Rodney Bickerstaffe would become general secretary of Unison, the giant public-sector union, by 1996. And (as Harold Wilson used to say) so it proved. Yesterday it was announced that Mr Bickerstaffe had romped home, getting nearly half the votes in a four-horse race. Some 22 per cent of the union's membership had voted – not too bad by historic standards. So congratulations, Rodney.

But does it matter? It has, after all, become a conventional wisdom that unions ain't what they were. Neutered by Margaret Thatcher's legislation, rendered obsolete by the growing privatisation of the relationship between employer and employee and increasingly marginalised even within the Labour Party, the unions are (according to this view) a busted flush – a remnant of an earlier industrial age. So Mr B may cajole or threaten, but he is relatively harmless.

Conventional though this wisdom may be, much of it is sound. Unison, despite declarations about being part of the modern world, has steadfastly opposed each and every government change in the health service. It has frequently been obstructive when local authorities have tried to make their services more consumer-friendly. Within the Labour Party itself, history threatens to pass it by: the union opposed the dumping of Clause IV. In the election for the general secre-

taryship of this major union, the victor's opponents were two ultra-leftists and an anti-abortionist – testimony to the shallowness of the union's gene pool. Mr Bickerstaffe was, in truth, the best of a pretty poor bunch.

Despite his own doughty advocacy of the minimum wage – which may well bear fruit after the next election – Mr Bickerstaffe himself has said and done little to engage with the concerns of the consumers of the services his members provide. His attention is turned inwards, to the demands of his activists over pay and jobs; not outwards, to establishing a relationship with the voters. Unlike the TUC's general secretary, John Monks, Mr Bickerstaffe seems relatively unaffected by new thinking. He is a leader of the old school, a product of a declining culture.

This does not mean that he will gradually fade away, however. The next 18 months could well see the election of the first Labour government in 17 years. Such a government will face massive problems in delivering on its priorities while maintaining a staunch anti-inflationary stance. At the very least, it is likely to continue with many of the present government's policies – but if it is to succeed in its own terms, it will need to undertake further reform of the public services.

Under these circumstances, a declaration of outright war by the public-sector unions on a government lacking experience and self-confidence could help to derail its programme and destroy its viability.

Unlike 1992, this is not a prediction, for Rodney has it at least partially within his power to stop it coming true.

**ANOTHER VIEW** David Jenkins

## Problems in need of faces

By training and by temperament I do not approve of organised expressions of outrage. But I have learnt that they are frequently inevitable, often necessary and sometimes powerfully effective. I started this learning when I joined the staff of the World Council of Churches just as the council was launching the Programme to Combat Racism. This brought me in touch with black people from various parts of the world who had stories to tell and cases to argue that clearly justified them in being angry.

A different encounter that has always remained disturbingly with me was during a meeting on liberation theology, with many Latin Americans present. Performing as the radical but reasonable theologian, I prefaced some remarks I was about to make by saying, "Of course Jesus Christ died for us all." There was an explosion in Spanish, which the interpreter rendered as: "Oh no, he did not. He died for the poor and the oppressed."

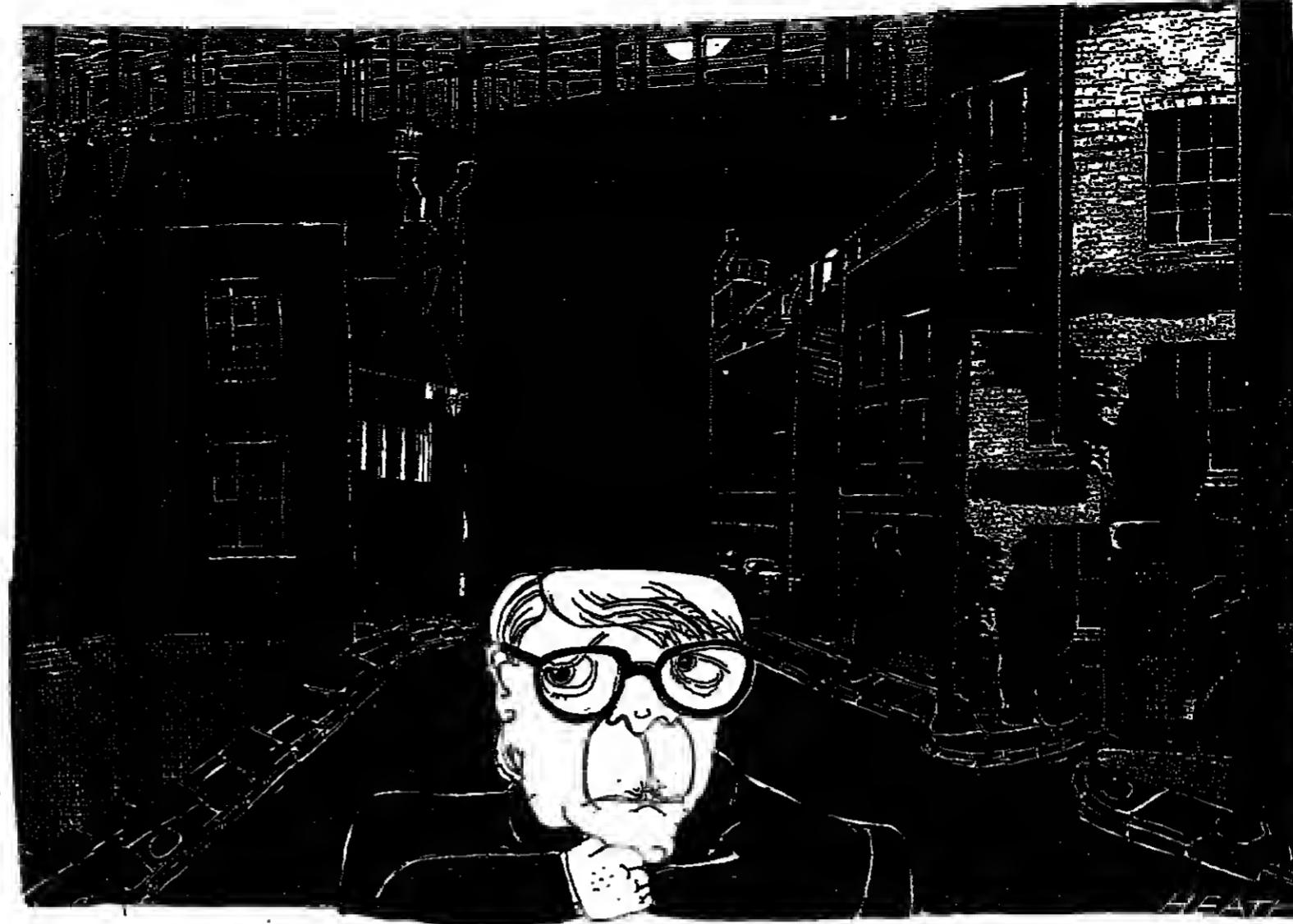
I hope this is not a full statement of the truth, but it reminded me sharply of Dean Ing's remark about the "comfortable shudder with which the average middle-class congregation accepts the burden of sin". Comfortable people can be reasonable and wait on negotiations. People with a deep awareness of current put-downs, frustrations and sufferings cannot be expected to be so reasonable. This lesson was reinforced for me by later meetings with redundant miners, hopeless young people and condescended-to

seekers of social security payments in the North-east.

Hence when Peter Tatchell at the small Glasgow conference on human sexuality referred to in yesterday's "Diary" gave us his account of the way the Church of England seemed not only to be putting down homosexuals but also to be ignoring them and refusing to offer meetings for discussion, I saw things from his point of view. Naturally, it was different from that of a member of the House of Bishops, which had to negotiate tricky resolutions on sexual matters through General Synod. I believe we all needed reminding that we are dealing with hurt and angry people, not just with difficult problems about both the Bible and human sexuality. Problems, like statistics, need to be given faces.

The context of this Glasgow encounter was an attempt to engage both heterosexuals and homosexuals, both Christians and other concerned persons, in a deepening discussion about "rebalancing human sexuality". There is no hope of getting beyond either militant or defensive skirmishing about matters sexual until we escape being dominated by the general and trivialising obsession with sex in a purely genital and sensual sense. We need to reclaim human sexuality for trust, love, stability, sacrifice and support.

The writer was formerly Bishop of Durham.



"On the plus side, as I have no outside interests, I'm not worth mugging."

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Falling foul of film processors and the police

From Mr Michael Taylor

Sir: I agree with most of Claire Rayner's article ("Another View, 6 November") about Julia Somerville's persecution, but I see little point in increasing Boots' profits on developing and printing by getting them to process more entirely innocent pictures of naked children. Especially as there would still be a risk of some over-zealous operative going to the police.

A few years ago the manager of our local Boots wanted to refuse to print a lovely, though scarcely erotic, lewd "pornographic" photograph of a beautiful woman. After getting the print I had asked for, I have never been near Boots for printing since.

I suggest a more effective form of protest would be for your readers to go somewhere else for their photographic work, first checking that there is no fundamentalist processor at work.

Yours faithfully,  
MICHAEL TAYLOR  
Locheadmond, Perthshire  
6 November

From Mr R. E. Toogood

Sir: For many years I was employed as a medical photographer by a small group of hospitals, including a large psychiatric unit. As some of the pictures I was required to pro-

duce bordered on the risqué or even pornographic, from the layman's point of view, and as I was using Kodachrome, in those days considered a purely amateur film, I contacted a friend at Kodak to inquire about handling procedures.

"What do you normally do if you see any funny stuff going through?" I asked.

"Well, we have checkers looking out for that sort of thing, and if they see anything doubtful they pull it out. Then we send a letter to the owner telling them that we cannot send these films through the post, as it is illegal; but if they'd like to call in to our office in Kingsway, London, they can pick the films up."

"And does anyone ever call?" I asked.

"No." Surely a reasonable and efficient way of dealing with the problem, without offending the innocent.

Yours sincerely,  
R. E. TOOGOOD  
Canterbury,  
Kent  
6 November

From Mr George O'Neill

Sir: With reference to Stephen King's letter (6 November), let me assure him that the unfortunate Julia Somerville and her partner certainly will be added to

their income from that source by 71.3 per cent.

There may well be some charities that have clearly been losing out, but it is by no means a one-way street.

Yours faithfully,  
DAVID RIGG  
Director of Communication  
Camelot  
London, SW1  
6 November

From Mr Malcolm Pirouet

Sir: Michael Paraschos and David Flavell (Letters, 3 November) rightly argue that Terence Conran is incorrect in claiming London deserves a high proportion of National Lottery funds. Mr Conran's article (1 November) correctly points out that London is the only city in the UK that can realistically compete with other major European centres. However, he fails to note that London's status as a "world city" is not used to the benefit of Britain, but rather to the benefit of vested interests based in South-East England.

Channeling National Lottery funds into London risks repeating the Parisian experience, where the money spent on "grand projects" has done little to benefit the 8 million inhabitants of Paris, and even less for the people of France – as evidenced by your newspaper's coverage of France's social and economic problems.

Yours faithfully,  
MALCOLM PIROUET  
London, NJ  
3 November

the school where I teach: a Mars bar, six bags of crisps and a can of fizzy drink.

We have abandoned children's health to balance the books. Parents would (or should) be outraged if they knew what their children ate.

Yours faithfully,  
GRAHAM DANE  
Edinburgh  
6 November

duce bordered on the risqué or even pornographic, from the layman's point of view, and as I was using Kodachrome, in those days considered a purely amateur film, I contacted a friend at Kodak to inquire about handling procedures.

"What do you normally do if you see any funny stuff going through?" I asked.

"Well, we have checkers looking out for that sort of thing, and if they see anything doubtful they pull it out. Then we send a letter to the owner telling them that we cannot send these films through the post, as it is illegal; but if they'd like to call in to our office in Kingsway, London, they can pick the films up."

"And does anyone ever call?" I asked.

"No." Surely a reasonable and efficient way of dealing with the problem, without offending the innocent.

Yours sincerely,  
R. E. TOOGOOD  
Canterbury,  
Kent  
6 November

From Mr Michael Pirouet

Sir: Your article ("Lottery admits charities hit" 4 November) correctly points out comments I made during a speech to the Charities Aid Foundation conference that "the jury was still out" on the National Lottery's long-term impact on charities among

their income from that source by 71.3 per cent.

There may well be some charities that have clearly been losing out, but it is by no means a one-way street.

Yours faithfully,  
DAVID RIGG  
Director of Communication  
Camelot  
London, SW1  
6 November

From Dr G. W. Stadler

Sir: You report ("Islamic exiles flock to safe haven in London", 4 November) that the governments of France and Algeria claim that Islamic extremists, who have obtained political asylum in Britain, are using London as a base for plotting the overthrow and assassination of their opponents abroad. They can do this because UK asylum law does not proscribe political activity, provided it does not break British law. I recall that Saudi Arabia has also claimed that Islamists living in Britain are undermining the Saudi state.

The actions of these Islamists are directed against relatively pro-Western governments such as those of Algeria, Egypt and Saudi Arabia, and against relatively pro-Western politicians, intellectuals and journalists within those countries.

However, you failed to report my comments to the effect that a number of charities have seen their incomes rise since the introduction of the National Lottery. UK Charity Lotteries, the largest operator of scratch cards in the UK before the National Lottery arrived, has seen its sales increase

by 54 per cent from its donations and appeals.

An independent report to be issued later this week shows that charitable income across a broad range of charities surveyed rose 2.3 per cent in the period April to June 1995 compared to the corresponding period the previous year. Indeed, the charities in that survey which use lotteries as a form of fund-raising have seen

an increase in their income from that source by 71.3 per cent.

There may well be some charities that have clearly been losing out, but it is by no means a one-way street.

Yours faithfully,  
G. W. STADLER  
Ponteland, Northumberland  
5 November

Letters should be addressed to:

Letters to the Editor and include a daytime telephone number. (Fax: 0171-293 2056; e-mail: letters@independent.co.uk) Letters may be edited for length and clarity.

### After the death of Rabin

From Mr Lu'Ayy Minwer Al-Rimawi

Sir: It is ironic that I, a Jordanian Arab who, like Yigal Amir, is also a law student, write to condemn strongly his assassination of Yitzhak Rabin. Instead of preparing to kill his own prime minister, the Israeli assassin should have been spending serious thought on how to build constructively upon a just and dignified framework.

The assassination has not only underlined the deep divisions engulfing the Middle East on the issue of peace. It has also highlighted the very considerable risks regional leaders have chosen to undertake. Whether they like it or not, Israelis and Arabs are now united by a new mutual bond: the future of the region.

Yet Arabs and Israelis are also challenged by a mutual threat: religious extremism. Israelis and Arabs are surrounded by seas in which not only do hungry fish eat Jews, but myopic sharks devour liberal-minded Arabs and Jews. But if we as lay citizens cannot confront extremists' vile acts, we should at least distance ourselves from their actions, physically and intellectually.

The political vacuum Yitzhak Rabin has left may be difficult to fill, but it is incumbent on Israelis of all political and religious persuasions to carry the torch of peace that the extremist Israeli right is relentlessly trying to stoke. On this sombre occasion I am very proud of my King's symbolic presence and his brave speech at Mr Rabin's funeral. May I echo King Hussein's words that the assassination of Mr Rabin should be an occasion for all those who belong to the camp of peace to come and speak of peace.

Yours sincerely,  
LU'AYY MINWER AL-RIMAWI  
London School of Economics  
London, WC2  
6 November

From Mrs Violet Holmes

Sir: I, like most of the civilised world, was shocked at the death of Yitzhak Rabin. I turned off the television on hearing the news, and sat reviewing the senseless slaughter of a good man trying to bring peace with justice to his small part of the world.

Deborah Pritchett and Jonathan Regal (letter, 6 November) say: "When Jewish blood is shed, every Jew mourns." I, who am neither Jew nor Arab, but Christian, say: when any man dies, I mourn because we are all part of the human race. They should not be so particular in their grief.

As King Hussein put it so eloquently in his moving homily: "We all worship the same God." Yours sincerely,

VIOLET HOLMES  
Maghull, Merseyside  
6 November

### Opposed to pot

From Mr George Foulkes, MP

Sir: If the accuracy of your so-called survey of Labour MPs is to be assessed by your account of the views you attribute to me, it is wholly spurious! Cannabis inquiry backed by 27 Labour MPs, 4 November). At no time have I supported the legalisation of cannabis, indeed I have publicly and strongly opposed it on a number of occasions.

I do not, of course, oppose a public debate on this issue; but my opposition and that of the Labour Party should be in no doubt.

Yours etc,<br



# obituaries/gazette

## Professor Ernest Gellner

Ernest Gellner was an outstanding theorist of modernity and one of a rare breed among late-20th-century scholars. He made significant contributions in very diverse fields, notably philosophy and social anthropology. His excoriating attacks on the orthodoxies of his times made it difficult for him to be fully accepted into either of these academic communities. That suited him well enough; he seemed to enjoy leading a one-man crusade for critical rationalism, defending enlightenment universalism against the rising tides of idealism and relativism.

Born in Paris in 1925, Gellner was brought up in Prague and attended the English grammar school there. His Jewish family decided on a move to Britain in 1939. At the end of the Second World War he enlisted with the Czech army, before continuing his education at Oxford. After a First in PPE he moved on to the London School of Economics, becoming Professor of Philosophy, Logic and Scientific Method in 1962. During this phase of his career he achieved fame and notoriety among philosophers, notably through his attack on Oxford linguistic idealism, *Words and Things* (1959).

Yet there were several paradoxes running through his work.

Gellner combined his passion for ideas with an equally intense interest in the practical and material constraints of social life. During the 1950s he discovered anthropology and, more specifically, the hard-nosed, empirical, observational style promoted in the inter-war decades by Bronislaw Malinowski, an earlier LSE recruit from Central Europe. This anthropology was an immensely exciting discipline which enabled Gellner to pursue social realities across cultural and temporal boundaries. Through more than four decades his contributions to the subject were enormous. They ranged from conceptual critiques on the analysis of kinship to frameworks for understanding political order outside the state in tribal Morocco (*Saints of the Atlas*, 1969); from sympathetic exposition of the works of Soviet Marxist anthropologists to elegant syntheses of the Durkheimian and Weberian traditions in Western social theory; and from grand elaborations of "the structure of human history" to path-breaking analyses of ethnicity and nationalism (*Thought and Change*, 1964; *Nations and Nationalism*, 1983).

Apart from the Moroccan study, widely acknowledged as a classic of the British school, he did not carry out local ethnographic projects. He valued fresh empirical data from field-work above all else, and advised his many graduate students accordingly. Yet he himself often preferred to be comparative, to theorise and to systematise. He was closer in some ways to the anthropology of Sir James Frazer than to that of Malinowski. There were tensions, too, in his political loyalties. The hatred of Communism ran deep (it was perhaps exceeded only by his contempt for another closed system, the church of psychoanalysis – *The Psychoanalytic Movement*, 1985). But Gellner could understand the security that ordinary people valued under Communist rule, and their wish to believe in their system, in the same way that he could appreciate the attractions of Islamic movements.

Although some judged him to be Euro-centric, he both admired and respected the other cultures he studied. On the other hand he did not hesitate to expose the forgery of cultural identities by intellectuals, including ethnographers, in the context of modern national

movements. He had little sympathy for the lurch to right-wing orthodoxy in the Britain of Mrs Thatcher. In his recent book on Civil Society (*Conditions of Liberty*, 1994) he argued for an effective state that would provide the social guarantees citizens needed to protect them from the tyranny of the market. At various times in his career he engaged in debate with figures on the left, among them Perry Anderson and Tom Nairn, though his general scorn for Western Marxism was unswerving.

He was a superb public speaker and debater, and also a gifted teacher, injecting occasional notes of melody into lectures that were delivered slowly, without notes. I remember first hearing him in the Cambridge anthropology department of the 1970s, when Jack Goody invited him to do a regular series on "rationality". Key points about the contrasting styles of cognition were deftly summarised in a blackboard diagram of a "multi-periodic submarine", an image that must be indelibly stamped on generations of students (the argument is set out fully in *Plough, Sword and Book*, 1988).

His influence spread far beyond social anthropology, and

important conference on the subject of Orientalism at the time of his death.

After a highly successful decade as William Wys Professor of Social Anthropology at Cambridge, Gellner retired in 1993 in order to head a new Centre for the Study of Nationalism, part of the Central European University funded by George Soros. He was thrilled to be living in Prague once again, and for all his intense dislike of socialism he had to concede that the former power-holders had taken good care of the city's historic centre.

One regret, he told me recently, was that he couldn't quite manage to down the prodigious amounts of beer necessary for effective "participant observation" among contemporary Bohemian villagers.

Gellner did not establish a school though, like Karl Popper, whose influence he always acknowledged, he did attract some able and dedicated followers. He did not always find it easy to accept the mundane pressures of an academic department, particularly in Cambridge, where an archaic administrative system imposed very heavy demands. Indeed Cambridge was in some re-

spects a disappointment: after suffering the indignity of having to kneel before a linguist philosopher – Bernard Williams – in his admission ceremony, he found that the Fellowship at King's was too large to provide him with that elusive sense of *Gemeinschaft*.

Yet he settled well in the end, enjoyed his collaboration with archaeologists, and the essays and books continued to flow. As at the LSE, he inspired loyalty and affection of staff as well as students. He was not one to suffer fools, and occasionally visitors to the department were deceived by the reserved, even taciturn welcome they received. But, though often formal, Gellner hated pomposity, and the dry humour was never far away: mischievous Bohemian spirit would emerge in the conversation over dinner and he was quite incapable of conforming to current fads for "political correctness". Having distilled the key message of a visitor's talk, he would enjoy changing the subject altogether – perhaps to chess, or to the parlous state of the English football team. He was passionate about nature, especially mountains. Long after illness ended his climbing career, he continued to enjoy ca-

Chris Hann

**Ernest André Gellner**, anthropologist, historian, sociologist, philosopher; born Paris 9 December 1925; staff, London School of Economics 1949–54; Professor of Philosophy 1962–84; FBA 1974; William Wys Professor of Social Anthropology, Cambridge University 1984–95; Professorial Fellow, King's College, Cambridge 1984–92; Supernumerary Fellow 1992–95; Resident Professor and Director, Centre for Study of Nationalism, Central European University, Prague 1993–95; married 1954 Susan Ryan (two sons, two daughters); died Prague 5 November 1995.



Gellner: a passion for ideas  
Photograph: Ashley Ashwood

## Gilles Deleuze

In the introduction to *Qu'est-ce que la philosophie?* (1991) the philosopher Gilles Deleuze and his co-author the psychoanalyst Félix Guattari suggest that one cannot ask such a question until late in life, in old age which is the time to speak concretely at last. When that book was written, at the age of 65, Deleuze could hardly be called "old" by today's standards. But "What is philosophy?" is indeed the sort of question one asks oneself, as he tells us, "at midnight, when one no longer has anything to lose".

He goes on:

In younger days, of course, one never asked it, but in a manner too indirect or oblique, too artificial, too abstract, and one extrapolated upon it, dominating it in passing rather than letting oneself be gripped by it. One wasn't serious enough. One was too eager just to "do philosophy", one was too one-sided what it really was, except as a stylized exercise one had not yet reached that non-style that finally allows one to ask what it was it all about, what have I been doing all my life?

So perhaps, having reached the age of 65, it was about time he began asking himself that question (among many others) as part of the privilege of old age:

There are cases in which old age gives, not eternal youth, but on the contrary a sovereign liberty, a pure detachment in which one enjoys a moment of grace between life and death, and in which all elements of the machine combine to launch into the future an engine that will travel through the ages: Titian, Turner, Monet.

Other examples of liberated old age are Chateaubriand, whose *L'Île de Ré* perhaps marks the beginning of modern literature. Boris Ivens in his last great cinematic works, Kant in his *Critique of Judgment* (written at about the same age as Deleuze was when writing this introduction).

Deleuze began by composing classic studies of Hume, Nietzsche, Kant, Bergson and Spinoza. Not until 1964 did he attempt more literary themes in *Marcel Proust et les signes*, in which he demonstrates that the concept of the "sign" rather than that of "memory" is the most effective way to approach a reading of Proust. This is al-



Deleuze: What have I been doing all my life?  
Photograph: Hélène Bamberger / Gamma / Frank Spooner Pictures

ready a "concrete" rather than a metaphysical approach.

In 1967, he published his *Préscription de Sacher-Masoch*, in which he shows us that Masoch made possible a link between "a perversion as old as the world" and the situation of ethnic minorities and the role of women in those minorities: masochism becomes an act of resistance. "Masoch is a great symptomologist."

In his *Logique du sens* ("Logic of Meaning", 1969), Deleuze uses as illustrations authors feel a compulsion to write in tandem. Such literary symbiosis takes curious forms, sometimes verging on the pathological. The bachelor brothers Edmond and Jules de Goncourt were inseparable (until death did them part): they referred to themselves as Jules and Edmond and nearly all their writing was done together. In the days before sexual correctness, Edmond was able to write in their monstrous *Journal*: "We even have our periods together."

When the two protagonists are a revolutionary therapeutic psychiatrist of 39 and a subversive visionary philosopher

were to be at the heart of his collaboration with the dissident psychiatrist Guattari.

An amusing study could be attempted on why some authors feel a compulsion to write in tandem. Such literary symbiosis takes curious forms, sometimes verging on the pathological. The bachelor brothers Edmond and Jules de Goncourt were inseparable (until death did them part): they referred to themselves as Jules and Edmond and nearly all their writing was done together. In the days before sexual correctness, Edmond was able to write in their monstrous *Journal*: "We even have our periods together."

When the two protagonists are a revolutionary therapeutic psychiatrist of 39 and a subversive visionary philosopher

five years his senior, such a union of pens seems peculiarly piquant. It was certainly a very unusual form of literary-philosophical complicity that produced their first combined work, *L'Anti-Oedipe* (1972), which scandalised conventional psychoanalytical circles by its attack on repressive Freudian analysis and its relation of capitalism to schizophrenia.

This innovative work is also remarkable as the first to employ multiple references – not only philosophical, but also artistic, scientific and literary – giving them all equal value, with the deliberate intention of showing that desire should be considered not just as a basic need but as a polymorphic engine of production. Deleuze's acute perceptions on art found full expression in a work on Francis Bacon subtitled "*Logique de la sensation*" in 1981.

Another of Deleuze/Guattari's multiple references was the cinema. Deleuze quotes Godard as asking why television watchers are not paid for watching television, instead of being charged for it, since they are performing a public service. On cinema, Deleuze wrote *L'Image-mouvement* (1983) and *L'Image-tempus* (1985). He made contributions to *Les Cahiers du Cinema* on Godard, Dreyer, Rivette, Wells and others including Syberberg, Varda, Ozu.

It is impossible in a short space to do justice to the complexity of Deleuze's work – though it is a complexity understandable by all with a will to understand. There is his book on Michel Foucault, a great friend and inspirer (1986); another *Percles et Verdi* (1988) in homage to his colleague at the Université de Vincennes François Châtelet; a book on Leibniz and the Baroque entitled *Le Pli* ("The Fold", 1988), and collaborations with other writers besides Guattari.

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Deleuze shortly before his death – he committed suicide by throwing himself from his flat in Paris – recorded one of the Arte Channel's most fascinating philosophical programmes, *Abécédaire* ("Alphabet"), in which he introduced a subject starting with a letter of the alphabet. "A" was for "animal", "G" for "gauche" (left-wing), and B was for "boisson" (drink). The "S" for "suicide" has yet to be broadcast.

James Kirkup

Gilles Deleuze, philosopher; born Paris 18 January 1925; died Paris 4 November 1995

So the "thousand plateaux" the authors envision are the innumerable possible interactions between writers, painters, musicians, philosophers, linguists and sociologists that would bring support and greater self-confidence to creators.

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## Catherine Martineau

One of the three daughters of William Ritchie and Margaret Booth, Catherine Martineau had a formidable lineage: Thackeray was her great-grandfather; Charles Booth, author of *Life and Labour of the People in London*, and Sir Richmond Ritchie, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India, were her grandfathers; great-great-uncles included Lord Macaulay and George Otto Trevelyan, while Leslie Stephen was a great-uncle.

The resulting cat's cradle of uncles, aunts and cousins reads like a roll-call of the professional and intellectual establishment, stretching from Cripps to Webb by way of such names as Hobhouse, Llewellyn-Davies, Macnaghten, Meinhardt, Potter, with most of whom she kept up until the end of her life: an astonishing correspondence which was as wise and spirited as it was descriptive.

After school at Albermarle House, in Wimbledon, under the formidable Miss Parrott and at Wimbledon High, she went to stay at Cambridge with family friends, the Darwins, where she was invited to sit at the *Beagle* papers, which were in total disorder. Her pencilled annotations and tentative datings signed "Cash" (the name by which she was known to family and friends) or "C.R." were to cause puzzlement to later biographers, who were finally put on the right track by an old friend and who then pored in to interview her. She obtained a Library Diploma at University College, London and studied Palaeontology with Dr Eric Miller, then Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum. She went to Berlin and Munich and her personal memories of the signs of the Nazi takeover in 1933–34 were vivid.

In 1940 she and her husband Eric Miller (whom she had married in 1936) were bombed out of their London house and went to live at Taplow, in Buckinghamshire. Here their neighbours included Joyce Grenfell, with whom she formed a close friendship.



Harold Macmillan, his drawing of her daughter Jane aged eight was sent round for their inspection. The Fellows approved. When Spencer returned from the investiture of his knighthood, he made the children act out the scene, with one of them as the Queen Mother brandishing a poker and murmuring, "I have been wanting to do this for a long time."

How much Catherine's friendship meant to Spencer is shown by what he wrote to her just before he died: "When you came with Tom Balston you gave me Hope indeed, and later when I saw Jack [Martineau] I knew that I had what I so wanted, Friends!" A few weeks earlier she had gone to see him on her return from Florence and he had drawn from memory all the scenes on the base of Giotto's campanile.

Some years later, when she had moved to her husband's family home in Suffolk, they offered a house to Gilbert Spencer, who continued the tradition of drawing his daughters, as well as Edith Hotchin, who had been Nanny both to Catherine Ritchie and her children and who habitually referred to her employer as "Old thing".

It was characteristic that, after the death of her husband in 1982 when she had considerable means at her disposal, Catherine Martineau should immediately seek to give away a substantial part, through a charitable trust and through donations to her local community. It was in recognition of all that she had done that, on her 80th birthday, the village bell-ringers rang a peal which lasted for three hours. It was only with difficulty that she was restrained from attempting to climb the tower to thank them.

William Mostyn-Owen

*Catherine Makpeace Thackeray-Ritchie*; born London 3 March 1911; married 1936 John Martineau (died 1982; two sons, two daughters, and one son deceased); died Walsham le Willows, Suffolk 22 October 1995.

## Export documents should have been disclosed

### LAW REPORT

8 November 1995

pleaded not guilty and made clear that their case was that the authorities were aware of Jordan being used as a conduit for exports to Iraq, the failure by the prosecution to disclose documents that showed the British authorities were turning a blind eye to such exports was a material irregularity which deprived the defendants from making properly informed decisions on how to run their defence.

When the trial judge rejected the defence submissions, the appellants changed their pleas to guilty, having received indications they would then receive suspended sentences.

The appellants were charged with a conspiracy between 1988 and 1990 relating to the exportation of goods to Iraq which were prohibited by the Export of Goods (Control) Orders 1987 and 1989. The events allegedly occurred when licences were obtained for the shipment of the goods to Jordan, when their true destination was Iraq.

At preliminary hearings before their trial, the appellants

for the jury they would necessarily have acquitted but the documents would have enabled the defendants to present an arguable case along the lines they had already indicated before seeing the documents. The documents might have left a jury in doubt as to whether the appellants' conduct was condoned by one or more limbs of the executive. The failure to disclose the documents amounted to a material irregularity.

Documents in the possession of one or other governmental department involved in the inter-departmental consideration of licences were to be regarded as in the possession of the Crown as an indivisible entity.

It was common ground that even an unequivocal plea of guilty was not necessarily a bar to appeal against conviction. Having considered all the unusual circumstances of the case – the material irregularity, the judge's ruling based on an unawareness by him and by prosecuting counsel of the undisclosed documents, and the pressures leading to the changes of plea, the convictions could not be regarded as safe and satisfactory. The appeals must be allowed.

The court could not say that if all the material had been

## Births, Marriages & Deaths

**BIRTHS**  
BIRKIN: To Emma (née Gage) and John, on 6 November, a son, Ben Jamison Charles.

HARRISON: On 2 November, in Stockport, to Jennifer (née Rowley), and Michael, a son



INDEPENDENT • Wednesday 8 November 1995

BUSINESS NEWS DESK: tel 0171-293 2530 fax 0171-293 2998

Investment: Tough going for M&S

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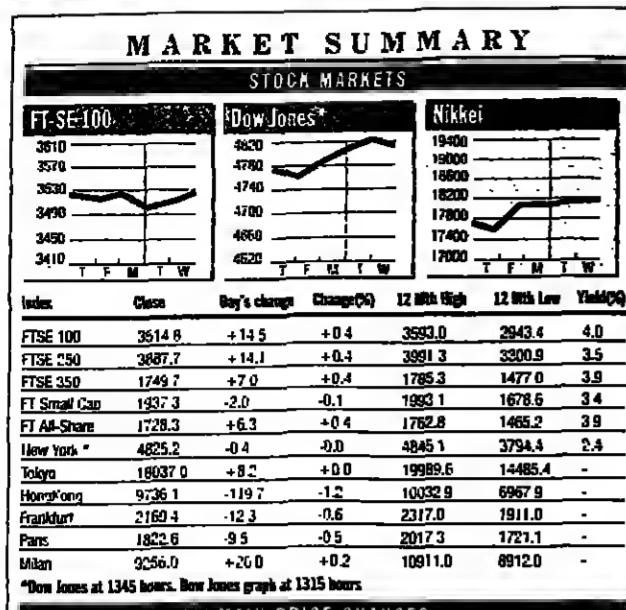
Profits surge at National Power

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Market Report: Water shares on boil

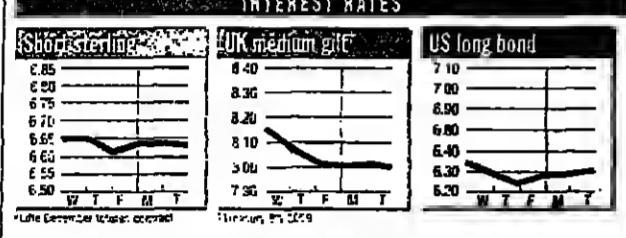
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CITY & BUSINESS EDITOR: JEREMY WARNER



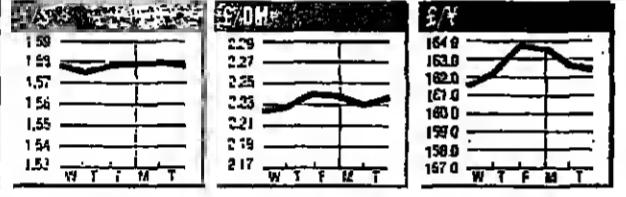
**MAIN PRICE CHANGES**

Rises	Falls
Price(s) Change(s)	Price(s) Change(s)
Seatrade	Albert Fittes
Hilgardt Mfrs	Hawthorn
Booz Corp Indl	Fin Art Devres
Stormer Elec	Amsterdam Indl
Scam Vacuc	Sun Alliance



**Money Market Rates**

Index	1 Month	1 Year	Median Yield (%)	Year Ago	Long Bond (%)	5-Year Avg
UK	6.69	6.72	7.85	8.73	7.98	8.70
US	5.75	5.50	5.95	8.04	6.28	8.17
Japan	0.38	0.38	2.75	4.73	-	-
Germany	4.00	4.06	6.39	7.65	7.16	-



**OTHER INDICATORS**

Oil Brent S	Yesterday	Buy's chg	Year Ago	Index	Latest	Yr Ago	Next Fig
Oil Brent S	16.80	+0.17	17.24	BPI	151.6	2.9%	24 Nov
GDIIS	322.60	+50.60	383.05	GDP	105.6	2.4%	4.1 Nov
GDIUE	242.04	-0.46	236.79	Base Rates	6.75%	3.2%	-

## IN BRIEF

### Lang promises consultation

Ian Lang, President of the Board of Trade, yesterday promised to carry out consultation on proposals from a Commons Select Committee which said companies should pay for the circulation of resolutions put up by shareholders provided they have sufficient backing. In a Commons reply he also confirmed the Government's commitment to legislation changes to implement proposals by the Greenbury Committee on disclosure of directors' earnings and pensions.

### Calor chief resigns

The chief executive of Calor Group, Britain's main bottled gas supplier, resigned yesterday as the company warned that the unusually warm weather was set to hit profits this year. Howard Robinson, who was appointed in January 1993, is thought to have lost out in board differences to John Harris, managing director of Calor's main liquid petroleum gas business, who will replace him at the head of the group. Analysts cut full-year net earnings forecasts from around £31m to around £27m.

### Taunton bid goes unconditional

The bid by drinks group Matthew Clark for cider maker Taunton went unconditional yesterday after being waved through by Ian Lang, President of the Board of Trade. The DTI said it had decided not to refer the takeover to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission. The main offer remains open until further notice, with the partial cash alternative closing today.

### Nationwide looks at direct insurance

Nationwide Building Society is considering setting up a telephone-based direct insurance service offering home and contents cover to its 1 million mortgage holders. The society is also investigating other options, including a joint venture with a single insurance company, rather than the panel it uses at present.

### Top-level shake-up at SBC

Swiss Bank Corporation said the SBC Warburg chief executive, Marcel Ospel, will become chief executive of the parent bank next May. Johannes de Gier becomes SBC Warburg chairman immediately. In a top-level shake-up, SBC said its board chairman, Walter Frehner, will resign at the next AGM in May 1996, and the SBC chief executive, Georges Blum, will replace him. SBC said net profit in the nine months to September, including the first-time contribution from SG Warburg, was "clearly above" that posted a year earlier.

### MAM shares fall on half-year figures

Mercury Asset Management (MAM) shares fell 31p to 888p as the company announced half-year figures in line with forecasts but refused to react to market speculation about possible mergers or acquisitions. The market was also disappointed by the new net business won - an increase of £80m.

### PIA to name names

The Personal Investment Authority, the main financial services watchdog, is set to publish the names of all insurance companies that refuse to join its independent ombudsman scheme. Although all members must belong to the scheme where investment products are concerned, they do not have to for health insurance and similar policies.

# Lang clears way for French bid

MARY FAGAN  
Industrial Correspondent

The Government opened the way for a surge of takeovers in the water industry by giving the long-awaited clearance for a bid for Northumbrian Water by Lyonnaise des Eaux de France. The required price cuts as a condition for any bid were attacked as "feeble" by the Labour Party and as "peanuts for customers" by Northumbrian.

Ian Lang, President of the Board of Trade, said that should Lyonnaise bid, price reductions of 15 per cent on water bills in the region would be phased in by 2001-2. He also said that the French group should list its entire UK water interests on the Stock Exchange by 2005. The announcement is expected to spark an early bid by Lyonnaise.

The price cuts, which were recommended by Ian Byatt, the water industry watchdog, were originally expected to be up to 20 per cent and to be implemented within four years.

Under the present scheme, the reduction in the first two years will be only 1 per cent - about 90p for the average

household in the area - rising to 2 per cent in year three and 10 per cent in year four. Mike Taylor, Northumbrian's finance director, said: "We are surprised at the leniency of the clearance conditions. As far as customers are concerned these cuts are an irrelevance in the first few years. Lyonnaise have certainly done a good job for

themselves but it is a very poor deal for customers."

A spokeswoman for Ofwat said: "In our view it is a realistic condition. It reflects a realistic situation and we had to do what was achievable."

Ian Byatt also moved to stem any frenzy of bids in the sector by warning that the President of the Board of Trade has a duty

under the Water Industry Act to refer mergers between larger water companies to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission. "In my view, the approval of this merger by the President of the Board of Trade does not mean that the way is clear for the spate of takeovers currently under way in the electricity industry to spread to wa-

ter," he said. "The Water Industry Act sets a framework within which inquiries into certain mergers within the industry must be conducted," he said.

Lyonnaise des Eaux already owns North East Water, the water-only company neighbouring Northumbrian, and would merge the two.

The company said that the

pricing conditions... will have significant implications for the value of Northumbrian to Lyonnaise". But, it added: "Notwithstanding the severity of the conditions imposed, Lyonnaise recognises that this is the only basis on which it will be allowed to proceed and proposes to enter into discussions with the board of Northumbrian to establish whether there is a basis on which both parties can agree terms for an offer."

City analysts believe the French group would have to bid between £1.150 and £1.2 per share for Northumbrian. The company's shares jumped by 66p to close at £10.74 last night.

It also emerged yesterday that North West Water has won 76 per cent of Norweb, the regional electricity firm, following last week's clearance of the takeover. Ken Harvey, Norweb's chairman and chief executive, and Brian Wilson, finance director, will leave next week "to pursue other interests and opportunities". It is thought Mr Harvey will gain £2m from ending his contract and his share options. Mr Wilson is expected to gain about £450,000.

PETER RODGERS  
Business Editor

Anglian Water yesterday proposed giving consumers a more direct role in setting water prices, by establishing what it called customer forums.

Reporting profits last year 4.3 per cent higher at £125.5m, Robin Gourlay, chairman, suggested it was time for the regulatory regime governing water companies to broaden the role given to consumers.

At present, Ian Byatt, the water regulator, appoints customer committees for each water company to help him in his deliberations. But Mr Gourlay believes it would be better to have water consumer bodies with a degree of independence similar to that given to the National Consumer Council.

Mr Gourlay admitted that one of the reasons for opening up the regulatory process to consumers was that Anglian

believed its customers were willing to back a higher level of capital investment even at the expense of an increase in prices.

When the company asked

Mr Byatt to approve an extra £250m of investment as part of the last price review in the water industry, he allowed all but £50m. Only the cost of approved investment can be reflected in water prices.

Anglian also rejected Mr Byatt's call last week for the water companies to share more of

their profits with customers, in a clear indication that he would prefer lower dividends and more price reductions. It raised the interim dividend 11.25 per cent, nearly twice the increase in earnings per share of 6.5 per cent.

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## Goldcrest fugitive surrenders

DAVID HELLIER

Donald Anderson, the former finance director of Goldcrest, a subsidiary of the Brent Walker Group, has given himself up to the police after almost three years as a fugitive. He appeared yesterday at Bow Street Magistrates' Court in London.

Mr Anderson, a New Zealand citizen and said to have been a loyal colleague of George Walker, the company's founder, fled the country in July 1992 during the course of interviews with the Serious Fraud Office. At one point the SFO believed Mr Anderson might have been dead.

A warrant for Mr Anderson's arrest has been outstanding since January 1993 when Mr Walker, former chairman and chief executive of the Brent Walker Group, and Wilfred Aquilina, the former finance director, were first arrested.

Further warrants were obtained in March 1993 when John Quested, former managing director of Goldcrest, was arrested, and again in December 1994 following the conviction and sentencing of Aquilina.

Mr Anderson is charged with two counts of theft, one charge of conspiracy to falsify accounting documents, one charge of attempting to pervert the course of justice and four charges of false accounting, involving a total £31.8m.

Mr Anderson has been granted bail. However the SFO is contesting this today, fearing that he may abscond again. Mr Anderson is represented by Michael Coleman of Harveys, who acted for Mr Walker during the Brent Walker trial.

Mr Coleman said yesterday that his client had come back to face charges, having come to the conclusion that they "were not going to go away". There had

been no pre-conditions or deals with the SFO beforehand. He said that Mr Anderson was charged with conspiracy to falsify accounting documents, the charge on which Mr Walker and Aquilina were acquitted. Aquilina was convicted on one count of false accounting in relation to a false document to Touche Ross in 1991.

Mr Coleman said he had volunteered several conditions for his client's bail, including sureties of £150,000, the surrender of his client's passport and an offer to report to the police twice a day. There was no reason to fear that his client would abscond because if that was in his mind he would not have come back.

Mr Walker is in the throes of trying to win back money he claims is owed to him by Brent Walker. Some banks have warned that they will put the company into receivership if he looks likely to win his case.

Mr Walker, who built the Brent Walker Group into a company that by 1990 had an annual turnover of more than £1.5bn, was acquitted on all charges on 24 October last year. In his defence it was suggested that two film division directors, John Quested and Mr Anderson, were chiefly responsible for any wrongdoing.

Allegations about the accounting policy within Brent Walker's film division first surfaced in the *Independent* in August 1993. Brent Walker had hoped that success in the film division would provide the springboard for the company's launch into the big time but worries about the division's accounts prevented the group from being able to raise money through a rights issue. It had to rely on heavy borrowings, a strategy that has left the group close to bankruptcy.

It appears that Dr O'Reilly, whose Heinz group is best known for its baked beans, would like to help him win it. It appears that Dr O'Reilly, who already owns the Irish *Independent* and other Irish titles, as well as 43 per cent of Newsweek Publishing, publishers of the *Independent* and the *Independent on Sunday*, listened more than he talked.

It would not be completely beyond the realm of possibility for Sir Andrew's Really Useful Group to stump up some cash for a national newspaper - to go from *Starlight Express* to the *Daily Express*.

In the past five years, profits have risen 400 per cent as the

company, declining profits from the old Lyons food business, which is being disposed of, and the write-offs contributed to otherwise flat profits from Allied Domocq, the food and drink giant whose brands include Tetley beer, Dunkin' Donuts and a range of spirits from Beefeater gin to Courvoisier.

Most of the £60m restructuring charge is to be spent on Carlsberg Tetley, the joint venture brewer, where profits collapsed in the year to August from £75m to £47m. The fall in brew-

ing, chief executive, admitted the Carlsberg Tetley joint venture had had a difficult start, but said he believed the corner had been turned. He refused to comment on rumours that Allied was looking to pull out of the brewing tie-up completely and had appointed Goldman Sachs to seek a buyer for its stake.

Last year's acquisition, Domocq, also struggled during the period to cope with a slump in demand in Mexico, one of its big markets, and the collapse in the value of the peso which led to a reduction in profits from

that country from £60m to £38m. Had the current exchange rate been used throughout the period, those profits would have slumped even further to £23m.

Mr Hales painted a gloomy picture of prospects for the dominant spirits business where the large markets of Europe and North America are experiencing slow volume growth and little or no price improvement.

Growth in the retail

SPLASH



## COMMENT

The country might as well be serious about City regulation by going the whole hog and engaging in root-and-branch reform'

## Bank escapes unscathed as political will fails

**F**ew could disagree with any of the central findings of the Commons Treasury and Civil Service Committee on City regulation. Present arrangements are plainly deficient in many respects; most of the committee's recommendations represent an advance of some kind while remaining sufficiently uncontroversial to command widespread political support. Such is the drawback (or advantage if you believe in the consensus approach) of attempting to produce a cross-party report on these matters.

The most contentious issue – whether the Bank of England after the BCCI and Barings debacles should be stripped of its supervisory functions – is deliberately fudged. Instead, using that time-honoured Whitehall technique for dealing with difficult issues off into the long grass, the Treasury is invited to review the matter. The idea of a free-standing prudential supervisor of banks and building societies is described cutely as "a not inconceivable development". The unspoken view, however, is clearly that conception is some distance off.

The Treasury, these days, is no loyal friend of the Bank of England. Both at official and to some extent ministerial level, there is a desire to carve out for the department a new role in banking supervision and City regulation. The fact of the matter is, however, that the chances of this happening before the next election are virtually nil. Setting up a free-standing banking supervisor responsible directly to the Treasury would require a new

Banking Act. Some of the committee's other suggestions would also require legislative reform. If parliamentary time is to be found for tackling City regulation at all, the country might as well be serious about it by going the whole hog and engaging in root-and-branch reform. This Government is certainly not going to do that. And the next, assuming it is Labour, will have rather bigger fish to fry in its early years.

So for the time being the Bank and other City regulators escape largely unscathed, despite concern about the fitness of the Bank of England in particular to meet the exacting task of supervision in today's rapidly evolving and sophisticated global financial markets. One view, reflected among a minority of committee members, is that the Bank of England's supervisory failings should be dealt with by dismantling the present framework but by reinforcing it – by giving the Bank bigger resources and enhanced powers. It seems unlikely the Treasury will go for that one, however.

With no prospect of radical reform this side of the parliamentary election, what can it go for? To keep pace with the trend towards large, integrated financial conglomerates, providing a wide range of products across global markets, a more radical approach than that suggested by the select committee is required. It makes little sense to match integration and globalisation of practitioners with fragmentation of supervision, split along industry lines. Far

better to pool the resources and expertise in one powerful supervisory organisation. The long-term implications, both for the Bank of England and the other regulators, are clear. It is finding a government with the time and the political will to do it that is the problem. It will require a scandal or two more yet before the Government is finally shaken into action.

### No open season in the water industry

**P**ublicly, Lyonnaise des Eaux yesterday described the price cuts required as a condition of its takeover of Northumbrian as severe. Privately, the French must have found it hard to hide their delight, since the cuts are at the lower end of the 15 to 20 per cent range and back-end loaded, with little penalty for new owner in the first couple of years.

Indeed, the full 15 per cent saving for consumers does not have to be put through until after the next industry-wide price review at the end of the decade, when the whole pricing regime will have been argued through again. The insistence that Lyonnaise secures a stock market quotation for its UK water business, designed to guarantee that the accounts remain transparent, is even less meaningful, since the company has 10 years to achieve the objective.

Sensing rightly that the City would read this as signalling open season for the water

companies in the stock market, Ian Byatt, the water regulator, inserted what might be called the Professor Stephen Littlechild memorial clause into his announcement.

Professor Littlechild has gone down in City lore, rightly or wrongly, as the man who sparked the electricity takeover frenzy with an unduly lenient price review. Mr Byatt is determined not to be remembered that way.

"The approval by the President of the Board of Trade does not mean that the way

is clear for the spate of takeovers currently under way in the electricity industry to spread to the water industry," he said.

As it happens, Mr Byatt has more fire-power in his armoury than Professor Littlechild, whose advice that most of the electricity bids should be referred to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission has been studiously ignored by Ian Lang, President of the Board of Trade. In the water industry, merger references are mandatory, so bids cannot be nodded through by government, as Mr Lang has done with electricity. That gives Mr Byatt an immediate lever, since he has a big input into a monopolies inquiry and into subsequent negotiations over conditions.

There are other differences, too. The water companies' big investment programmes leave them with only a modest cash flow, unlike the juicy amounts the Rees produce. Nor are there the same commercial pressures to restructure that exist in the electricity industry or the rush of interest from

US utilities. In the water industry, there is unlikely to be an open season – just a few potshots at stray birds.

### A shared vision of the future

**T**he "collegiate" approach to containing costs in the newspaper industry – the idea that several titles might share back-office and production facilities – has taken on a new lease of life in these days of rising newsprint costs and intense competition for readers. But the idea is an attractive one for other industries, too. The independent television sector has been doing a version of it for years, through shared sales houses. More recently, several ITV companies got together to handle their overseas sales efforts jointly too.

The idea is beginning to catch on among retailers, witness the appearance of fast-food outlets in food malls or the sharing of retail space by branded retailers on the shop floor of big department stores. More recently still, the utilities have seen how savings can be achieved by combining billing and some after-sales services. It doesn't take a takeover to make the "collegiate" approach work. Thames Water and London Electricity see no reason why they should merge to make it work. Cut the basic costs by pooling them with competitors, and compete on the factors that really differentiate products. Could this be the future across a wide range of industries?

## Davis leads bid for Reed's regionals

MATTHEW HORSMAN  
Media Editor

Peter Davis, the former chairman of Reed Elsevier, is leading a bid to buy the Anglo-Dutch giant's UK regional newspapers. Prudential, the insurance group now headed by Mr Davis, is among the front-runners for Reed Regional, the £20m newspaper group put up for sale earlier this year.

A further nine bidders have made formal approaches, of which four are likely to be rejected immediately.

That leaves six serious applicants, of which at least two are believed to be newspaper groups. The rest are institutional investors, according to informed sources.

A victory for the Pru would mark sweet revenge for Mr Davis, who left Reed Elsevier last year after a bitter disagreement over strategy and management structure.

Analysts last night speculated that the insurance giant might seek to break up the newspaper group and sell titles on to other buyers.

Of the remaining bidders, Midland Newspapers is believed to have made a formal offer. The company, which publishes the *Birmingham Post*, confirmed earlier this year that it was interested in ac-

quiring Reed Regional, the country's largest publisher of free newspapers, with a combined weekly circulation of 4 million.

Unexpectedly, a management buy-out is not among the finalists, although key managers are thought to have aligned themselves with institutional bidders.

A spokesman for the group continued to stress yesterday that no decision had been taken over the fate of the *Daily Express*, the *Sunday Express*, the *Daily Star* and the company's regional titles.

Both News International, publisher of five national titles including the *Times* and the *Sun*, and the *Express*, owned by United News and Media, would probably have faced insurmountable obstacles from Monopolies and Mergers Commission.

Analysts pointed out that companies often express formal interest in auctions in order to review confidential material. It is believed that very few of the 60 applicants seriously intended to bid.

The sale is a stage in the disposal of Reed's consumer operations, which include its book publishing and Dutch newspaper businesses. All told, the company hopes to raise between £700m to £1bn from its disposals.

Altogether, more than 60

groups received Reed's sales memorandum, including News International, the publishing group controlled by Rupert Murdoch's News International, and the Express Group, the latter itself the subject of speculation that it is prepared to sell off its regional newspaper holdings.

The sale might raise as much as £220m, according to informed sources, although estimates range as low as £150m. Last year, Reed Regional had sales of £131m. Analysts said the likelihood of further newsprint increases, coupled with declining circulation suffered by many regional newspaper titles, would depress the price to below the usual two times revenues used to value publishing assets.

Despite the market conditions, the free newspaper market has weathered the generally difficult situation for print media by concentrating on cutting costs and closing unprofitable titles. Moreover, there has been consolidation in the marketplace, most recently through the £327.5m sale of Thomson Regional Newspapers to Trinity. Regional newspaper owners believe further deals are likely, and that should improve prospects for the remaining groups.

Analysts pointed out that companies often express formal interest in auctions in order to review confidential material. It is believed that very few of the 60 applicants seriously intended to bid.

The sale is a stage in the disposal of Reed's consumer operations, which include its book publishing and Dutch newspaper businesses. All told, the company hopes to raise between £700m to £1bn from its disposals.

Former BA chief executive parachutes into soft landing four days after stepping down

## Marshall moves into the chair at Inchcape

NIGEL COPE

Just four days after he stepped down as chief executive of British Airways, Sir Colin Marshall has already landed on a new corporate runway. He was yesterday named as the new chairman of Inchcape, the struggling motor distributor and marketing group. He joins the board with immediate effect and will replace Sir David Plastow as non-executive chairman on 1 January.

He will be paid £200,000 a year for a 1.5 to two-day week. He will continue to spend two days a week at BA as chairman, although his modified BA salary has not yet been decided. Inchcape says it will share Sir Colin's car and chauffeur expenses with BA. He will receive no bonuses or share options.

Sir Colin, 61, will also take up the presidency of the Confederation of British Industry next May and there was immediate criticism that he is taking on too much. He accepted as much yesterday and said that although he intends to keep his non-executive directorships of BT and the banking group HSBC, he may relinquish some of his other committee positions.

Commenting on his swift appointment as another chairman, Sir Colin said: "You have to seize these opportunities when they come in life."

Inchcape said they were delighted to recruit Sir Colin, whom they have been courting for three months. Charles Mackay, the chief executive, said: "He has pre-eminent qualities for the job. He is very much a marketing man and we are a marketing company. He also has strong background in customer service and has the confidence of the City."

Sir Colin's appointment replaces several long-standing acquaintances. Charles Mackay has sat on the same board as Sir Colin at both HSBC and BA. At Inchcape Sir Colin will sit at the same board table as Liam Strong, who is a non-executive director and was formerly marketing director of BA.

Although Inchcape shares closed 7p lower at 295p, the appointment was greeted positively in the City. Inchcape's shares have underperformed the FTSE all-share index by 56 per cent over the last three years. It has shocked the market with a series of profit warnings hit by the high yen.



Sitting pretty: Sir Colin Marshall will be paid £200,000 for at most a two-day week as Inchcape's new chairman

Photograph: PA

## Kevin: 'I was bloody arrogant'

JOHN WILLCOCK  
Financial Correspondent

Kevin Maxwell said yesterday he had been "bloody arrogant" and for that reason had never imagined or considered the possibility of business failure.

Because of that, he told an Old Bailey jury, he never believed pensioners' interests were being put at risk by transferring shares owned by BIM – Bishopsgate Investment Management, which administered the pension fund – to the Robert Maxwell Group.

Kevin said, in what turned out to be his last meeting with his father, that Robert Maxwell had transferred the beneficial ownership of some £240m worth of shares in the Israeli group, Teva, to RMG. They were to be paid for in the usual way through movements on the inter-company account.

In his fourth week of giving evidence, Kevin was pressed by Alan Suckling QC, prosecuting, about whether this was in the interests of the pensioners.

Kevin said it was easy to say that now, with the benefit of hindsight and knowing what had happened in the following days with his father's death and the company's collapse. He accepted, looking back, that "it beggars belief" that was not what he was thinking at the time. "I didn't, for a minute, think or consider the possibility of my father's death and the impact that would have."

With the subsequent knowledge that the group was going to crash, he now accepted the share transfer had not been in the pensioners' interests, but at the time "there was no conception that they were not going to get their money back". He added: "It didn't occur to me." "I didn't feel sufficiently threatened commercially to panic if I had panicked perhaps I wouldn't be here." Although RMG had prob-

### The Maxwell Trial



Day 98

## Barings collapse: concern grows over banking sector supervision

### MPs seek debate on Bank's role

JOHN EISENHAMMER  
and NIC CICUTT

A full-scale parliamentary debate into the collapse of Barings has been requested from both sides of the House of Commons amidst concern among MPs over the Bank of England's supervisory competence.

Sir Thomas Arnold, the Conservative chairman of the influential Treasury and Civil Service Committee, said yesterday he had written to Tony Newton, leader of the House, asking for a debate which would thoroughly examine the Bank of England's role. A similar request has been made by Alastair Darling, Labour's City spokesman.

Sir Thomas said there was "considerable concern" inside the Treasury Committee over the Bank of England's role as lead supervisor for the banking sector. In its report on financial services regulation in Britain, published yesterday, the committee recommends that the Treasury "should now review the role of the Bank of England as prudential supervisor of the banking institutions."

Asked by Mr Suckling why he had not, he replied: "Part of the answer is that I am probably one of the most arrogant people you will ever meet. I just could not imagine or consider failure. That, with hindsight, is bloody arrogant."

When Mr Suckling suggested he had invented what had happened at the meeting with his father, he replied: "I am not inventing what my father said. I am reporting what he said. I was there, you were not."

When Mr Suckling asked: "Isn't this hump?" Kevin told him: "Every time you get an answer you don't like, you use words like hump."

Kevin, his brother, Ian, and Larry Trachtenberg, a former Maxwell financial adviser, deny conspiracy to defraud the pension fund by misusing shares.

As a result of the crash there was not a pensioner today who was not interested in details of their pension, Kevin told the court. He said that neither the Maxwell directors nor the banks knew of the liability to the pension funds – but that neither had asked for the information.

Barings' pre-tax profits increased by just 9 per cent to £285m in the six months to September, lower than some analysis had expected. Keith Cates, the deputy chairman, blamed the warm summer weather followed by another

committee also criticised financial watchdogs for their failure to prevent the pension mis-selling scandal and their inability to ensure speedy redress for victims of bad advice. The report described as "unacceptable" the lengthy delays in investigating unprofessional conduct by insurance companies and financial advisers.

The fact that the task of identifying those individuals who received poor advice and calculating the level of compensation is difficult and onerous does not absolve the regulators, and ultimately the firms, from providing swift and full recompence for their actions," the committee said yesterday.

The report officially raised for the first time the prospect of the Bank of England being stripped of a role it has fought vigorously in recent years to defend. "A free-standing prudential supervisor of banks and building societies – answerable to and appointed by the Treasury – is not an inconceivable development, which has been given greater credibility by the events of the last few years," the report said.

The report called for a reform of the Financial Services Act to allow lending to be regulated by

financial watchdogs. The committee said the complexity of many products such as home improvements sold to thousands of elderly investors, made it impossible to separate lending from investment. The committee also proposed that professional bodies such as the Law Society should give up their right to regulate members' financial activities and existing watchdogs should take over.

Despite the relatively restrained wording of the report, reflecting the need for compromise, a majority of the 11-strong committee expressed grave misgivings about the Bank of England's future as banking supervisor. "In the course of the parliamentary debate, I would not be happy if the Chancellor merely repeated the view that setting up a separate banking supervisor would just be changing the brass name-plate. He will have to argue his case more fully than that," Sir Thomas said.

The Treasury, which has been asked to carry out the review of the Bank, is known to be sceptical about the effectiveness of the present arrangements.

## BREITLING 1884



Altitude, speed and time are still shown in modern cockpits by means of a pointer or needle—precisely because this sort of indicator sweeping over a circular gauge is what a pilot sees best, particularly when keeping track of countless other pieces of information.

But digital readouts can for instance provide times to 1/10th of a second and alphanumerical data along with simplifying the setting of programmable functions.

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INSTRUMENTS FOR PROFESSIONALS

## THE INVESTMENT COLUMN

Edited by TOM STEVENSON

## St Michael joins the mortals

The City has become so accustomed to Marks & Spencer bucking the retail trend that it came as quite a shock to find that St Michael is human after all. Yesterday's figures from Britain's largest retailer were not bad given the grim trading environment but they showed that even M&S is finding it tough going on the high street at the moment.

Pre-tax profits for the six months to September were up almost 9 per cent to £285m, boosted by a strong contribution from financial activities, which include the M&S charge card.

The main disappointment was the performance in the core clothing division, where sales increased by just 2.7 per cent. Like every other retailer M&S blames the unseasonal weather, with a summer heatwave followed by a warm autumn, which has dented sales of winter clothing. As a contrast the company says clothing sales last week were up 10 per cent on the previous year due to the recent cold snap.

Better performers were the trusty food halls, where sales increased by almost 6 per cent. Home furnishings also did well, with the wedding list proving popular.

If the picture is mixed at home it is not much clearer abroad. Brooks Brothers, the troublesome American acquisition, made a £2.5m loss in the six months compared with a modest profit in the previous year, due to markdowns on excess stock. Losses in Canada increased from £2m to £3m due to high rents, poor sales and squeezed margins.

M&S is not revealing detailed figures on the sale of pension and life assurance policies, which it started in the spring. But it is clear that sales are lower than hoped – it is not clear that the trusty M&S brand will necessarily prove a boon in financial services.

For M&S investors used to a steady rise in the share price, the past year has been a disappointment. Having started at 396p in January the shares have gone nowhere.

They have recently been hit by a series of downgrades ahead of yesterday's figures. Some analysts were downgrading further yesterday to 395p for the full year, compared with the £4 the previously expected.

Investors seeking a larger retail stock might be better advised to go for Boots than M&S or GUS to include exposure to the clothing sector. That said, the M&S brand name remains the strongest on the high street and, after

a bout of share price weakness, they could be set for a rally, especially if the Budget is helpful. The shares were up 4p to 411p yesterday. On a forward rating of 17 they are not cheap but a good long-term bet.

## Mitigating the Allied disaster

Allied Domex is such a disaster it is starting to look interesting. It has underperformed the market by more than a quarter over the past year and by almost 40 per cent since 1991, so institutional indignation could be rising to the point where something radical is done to reverse the tide. Whether that is a takeover, a demerger or something completely different, things can hardly get worse for shareholders, and with a 6.3 per cent yield underpinning the shares, the downside is limited.

That is the optimistic view. Taking it demands that a blind eye is turned to the string of disasters that have befallen Allied in recent years, including the ill-fated brewing merger with Carlsberg and the badly mistimed acquisition of

Domex just in time for recession and the collapse of the peso in Mexico.

Complicated as full-year figures to August were by a change of year-end and exceptional charges, a collapse in profits at Carlsberg Tetley from £75m to £47m, flat profits from the spirits side, including Domex, and no growth in retailing sent out a clear message.

In spirits, more than half of group profits, extremely modest volume growth is only being achieved at the cost of a big increase in marketing spend. Princely, the other big profits driver, is going nowhere and once again only cost savings are keeping the wheels on – the reason a radical proposal from Hoare Govett, the broker, starts to look increasingly attractive. Allied is no good at marketing spirits, Hoare says, and not bad at retailing, so why not sell the booze brands, cut the link with brewing, complete the pull-out from food and concentrate on what it can do.

The broker recommends using the sale proceeds to buy Burger King from GrandMet, repurchase a tranche of shares and invest in the core pubs, off-licences and fast food franchises. Those transactions, Hoare reckons, could create shareholder value of 660p a share compared with yesterday's

unchanged close of 493p. It is a radical proposal, but with a yawning gap between share price and possible value, the shares are worth holding on the off-chance that, even if Allied isn't up to the challenge, someone else may be.

## Shake-up hurts Amersham

Amersham International is going through a difficult period as it moves away from its roots in radioactive chemicals for medical research. But it has also been guilty of failing to keep the City abreast of developments.

The shares tumbled 71p to 849p yesterday as analysts trimmed forecasts for the third time in 18 months on the back of worse-than-expected interim results and a cautious trading statement. Headline pre-tax profits to September inched ahead £200,000 to £19.8m, and after stripping out a £1.5m exchange gain the trading result went backwards. An interim dividend pegged at 4.5p added to the gloom.

Two unexpected problems wrong-footed the company and the market. A sudden shortfall in waste processing orders from eastern Germany, which shaved £3m from the turnover of the small industrial quality operation, is already being reversed. More serious and more foreseeable was a drop in US sales for Amersham Life Sciences. Like others in the business of supplying the research and development arms of the big drug groups, Amersham is suffering as the industry consolidates.

Divisional operating profits, up from £15.3m to £15.6m, were only kept moving by the exchange gain. With margins typically over 20 per cent in life sciences, this continuing trend increases the pressure on Amersham to move to high value-added branded products. Management is confident new applications will stem the decline in sales of its Cerecet patented brain imaging agent.

But future hopes rest on Myoview, a second-generation heart-imaging agent, on course to be marketed in the US from early next year. And Amersham is well advanced in negotiations to pay £60m to take its stake in the Japanese Nihon Medi-Physics to 50 per cent from next year. That could add 10 per cent to earnings. Even so, a p/e of 18, based on expectations of profits this year of £48m, looks high enough.

We hope to be graced by the attendance of a member of the Royal family," promises the Lord Mayor of Coventry. "Other invitations have gone out to ministers from motor manufacturing countries, city mayors and senior figures in the motor industry and motor sport."

The highlight of the service will be an exhibition of vintage, veteran and new cars from the car manufacturing nations, tastefully displayed "in the dramatic setting of the Old Cathedral ruins". We will sing hymn number 327, "Bring me my turbo-charge, four-wheel, off-the-road chariot of fire..."

The demographic time-bomb looks to have a shorter fuse than was thought. Research published today by Sanders & Sydney, the outplacement consultants, suggests that your career will be over bar the shouting at 42.

Only a small number of the employers interviewed in the survey said they actively employed older people. Indeed, half believed that anyone aged over 50 had a problem while a further quarter claimed (somewhat disturbingly), that "there was a difficulty at 40". The age at which discrimination bites is 42, the survey claims.

Ageism is perceived to be an ever-increasing threat to a normal working life-span," warns Frances Cook, S&S managing director, who blames increasingly young management. Certainly employers are becoming obsessive in their prejudice. More than half those questioned admitted to being extremely

irritated by the absence of age on a CV.

The new mouthpiece of the London Stock Exchange is Claire Mascall, who joins as head of corporate affairs next month. She replaces Kate Bowes on the LSE executive and takes over 26 staff. Experience is something she is not short of. She has worked in the steel, electricity, nuclear power, banking and construction industries, with companies such as British Steel and Barclays. She also handled the TSB float.

Good news for anxious users of the Sun Life desk diary. The entire print run of the 1996 edition, "which TNT managed to lose somewhere between the producers and ourselves" has been discovered in a wood yard in North Yorkshire.

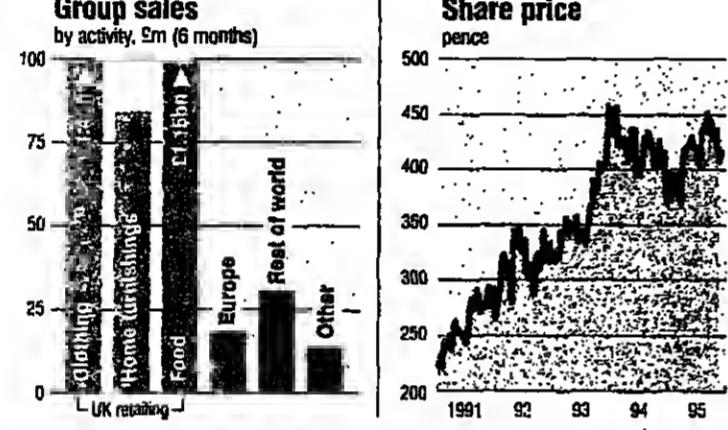
	COMPANY RESULTS			
	Turnover £	Pre-tax £	EPS	Dividend
Allied Domex (F)	6.03bn (5.62bn)	494m (32.6m)	22.6p (37.6p)	11.8p (+)
Amersham International (F)	16.4m (16.3m)	19.8m (19.6m)	20.1p (20.8p)	4.8p (4.8p)
Anglova Water (F)	372m (358m)	126m (121m)	41.2p (38.7p)	8.8p (8p)
Barf Press Group (F)	17.3m (16.1m)	1.15m (0.94m)	0.57p (0.56p)	0.14p (nil)
BSkyB (F)	215m (157m)	50.8m (24.4m)	3.0p (1.8p)	nil (nil)
London Insurance Market (F)	- (-)	6m (5m)	1.7p (1.42p)	1.1p (1p)
MAN (F)	128m (125m)	63.8m (57m)	24.2p (21.3p)	6p (4.5p)
Marks & Spencer (F)	5.25bn (3.07bn)	385m (354m)	8.3p (8.6p)	3p (2.8p)
MARY Competitive (F)	14m (10.9m)	3.08m (2.51m)	16.3p (13.1p)	6.2p (5.2p)
National Power (F)	1.67m (1.67m)	254m (211m)	16.2p (14.4p)	5.4p (4.55p)
Powersure Indef (F)	121.1m (84.0m)	17m (14m)	14.5p (12.2p)	2.5p (2.2p)
UPF (F)	47.8m (42.8m)	5.7m (4.1m)	13.85p (12.84p)	4.25p (-)
WEW Group (F)	122.1m (111.7m)	4.1m (3.0m)	1.05p (1.03p)	0.7p (0.7p)
(F) - Final (F) - Interim (B) - Nine months				

## Marks &amp; Spencer: at a glance

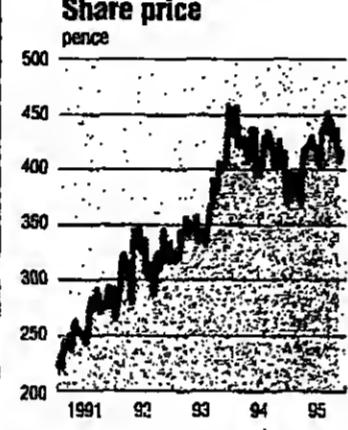
Market value: £11.5bn, share price 411p

Trading record	1992	1993	1994	1995	1994	1995
Turnover (£m)	7.5	5.9	6.5	6.8	3.1	3.2
Pre-tax profits (£m)	568.9	736.5	851.5	924.5	354.2	385.4
Earnings per share (pence)	13.5	18.0	20.9	22.4	8.6	9.3
Dividends per share (pence)	7.1	8.1	9.2	10.3	2.8	3.0

## Group sales by activity, £m (6 months)



## Share price



## National Power clashes with GEC over delays

MARY FAGAN  
Industrial Correspondent

National Power is to claim £20m from GEC Alsthom over delays with its latest gas-fired power station at Little Barford, Bedfordshire, which was due to be operating in the spring. The plant is not now expected to be up and running until early next year.

The extent of the problem with Little Barford emerged as National Power announced a 20 per cent increase in pre-tax

profits to £234m in the first half of the year. Earnings per share rose by 12 per cent to 15.6p and the dividend increased by 24 per cent to 5.4p, backed by a half of the Board of Trade.

The company also confirmed its gearing will rise to 150 per cent as a result of its £2.8bn planned takeover of Southern Electric, the regional electricity supply company in the south of England, falling back again within a few months. National Power revealed that it now owns, or has acceptances, in re-

spect of more than 50 per cent of Southern's shares, although as required by Offer, the industry regulator, the market share will fall to between 20 and 25 per cent. The sale of the power stations, for which there are four bidders, could bring in £1bn for National Power, in addition to further payments related to the future operation of the plants.

Mr Henry said that he expects to hear the Government's verdict on Southern Electric around 20 November. "The ball is in the court of the Office of

Fair Trading. The strength of our case is paramount. We can see no reason on the grounds of competition why this bid should be referred to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission."

National Power, which bid for Southern after three earlier takeovers of regional firms were cleared, took heart from last week's approval of the acquisition of Norweb by North West Water. It is thought that Professor Stephen Littlechild, director general of Ofgem, wants

this bid to be referred because it marks the beginning of significant vertical integration between power generation, distribution and supply – a structure that was dismantled before the industry was privatised five years ago. He is likely to hold similar views on PowerGen's £1.96bn bid for Midland Electricity, also awaiting the green light from Mr Lang.

But there is a widespread view that any objection by Professor Littlechild would be overruled by the Government.

## IN BRIEF

## Century Inns to try for another float

Century Inns, the tenanted pub company, is having another go at coming to the market, nine months after a previous flotation attempt was scuppered by the launch of an OFT investigation into wholesale prices. Century is expected to have a market value of about £50m and plans to raise new funds of £30m to invest in its portfolio of pubs. Century has 316 outlets, including just eight which are managed by the company. A target of 450-500 pubs has been set and the company expects a return on capital of 20-25 per cent per pub.

## US health food group mounts challenge

General Nutrition Companies, an American retail group that specialises in vitamin and healthfood stores, plans to open a chain of 400 healthfood shops in the UK, challenging the dominance of Holland & Barrett and Boots. GNC, which has 2,300 shops worldwide, yesterday acquired Health & Diet Group, a privately-owned chain of 22 stores for an undisclosed sum. GNC says it will start its opening stores under its own name next year.

## Lottery ravages sales at WEW

Consumer spending on the National Lottery is continuing to ravage sales at What Everyone Wants, the discount clothing chain. Like-for-like sales slumped 16 per cent in the three months to August and by 19 per cent in the three months since. Peter Carr, chairman, said the lottery, combined with weak consumer spending and mistakes in its fashion offering, had pushed the company into loss in the second half. However, WEW shares rose 3p to £4.1m yesterday as pre-tax profits increased 29 per cent to £4.1m, largely due to reduced losses from discontinued operations.

## AMEC appoints new boss

The construction group AMEC has appointed Peter Mason, currently chairman and chief executive of rivals Balfour Beatty, as its new chief executive. BICC, which owns Balfour Beatty, said Mr Mason would leave his post at the end of January next year to be replaced by Mike Welton, the construction subsidiary's joint managing director.

## BP still waiting for the gasman

MARY FAGAN  
Industrial Correspondent

BP beat lower oil prices and problems in the chemicals market to come in with replacement cost profits of £532m in the third quarter of the year, an increase of 28 per cent over the same period in 1994.

The results were at the top end of City analysts' expectations, underlining BP's strong position after struggling back from the crisis days of 1992.

The dividend was increased to 4p from 2.5p previously, bringing the total for the nine months to 11p. The shares closed unchanged at 469p.

David Simon, chairman, said: "This is top-of-the-league performance. It is a choppy environment but we are comfortable with our position in it. We are confident we can maintain our competitive position and we are seeing more and more opportunities for growth."

Mr Simon said that BP's "self-help"

JULY 10 1995

# market report/shares

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**DATA BANK**

FTSE 100

3224 +7.6

FTSE 250

396.9 +6.2

FTSE 350

753.3 +3.6

SEAO VOLUME

192.6m shares,

28,633 bargains

GILTS Index

94.06 +0.01

**SHARE SPOTLIGHT**

share price, price



Source: Dateline

## Water shares steamed up on Northumbrian go-ahead

**MARKET REPORT****DEREK PAIN**

Stock market reporter of the year

Speculators splashed around in water stocks following Whitehall's delayed clearance of the French bid for Northumbrian Water.

Optimists are banking on waters being subjected to the same bid frenzy that has enlivened electricities. There is excited talk of more cross-utility deals on the lines of North West Water's takeover of Norweb. Indeed, some believe proposed deals have been bottled up until the Government pronounced on Lyonnaise des Eaux ambitions towards Northumbrian.

Although the French group complained the conditions it would have to meet were "severe", it is expected to launch its offer quickly with the stock market anticipating a bid in the region of £1,500p. Northumbrian, excited by the prospect, surged 66p to 1,074p in brisk trading.

Hanson, which is acquiring

Eastern Electricity and moving into generators, was linked with Eastern's water counterpart - Anglian, up 13p to 578p.

The two Welsh utilities were also seen as natural fits with, so the story went, Welsh Water absorbing South Wales Electricity. A bid, said the allegedly well-informed, will materialise today. So SWE jumped 28p to 988p and Welsh Water rose 11p to 754p. Other waters flowed strongly with Thames achieving a 20p gain to 536p.

Heavy restructuring costs have in the past damaged the prospects for water takeovers bids. There was also the theory the Government would be reluctant to allow a similar takeover romp to that which has engulfed electricities. But its decision to give the all-clear to the Lyonnaise des Eaux initiative is prompting a rapid rethink. Besides the defensive cross-utility deals more over-

seas interest is likely to develop, with French and US utilities moving in.

Utilities did not enjoy any exclusivity of the takeover speculations. Banks in general, and TSB in particular, made sure of that.

Rumours a counter-bidder is prepared to target into the cosy deal Lloyds Bank has arranged with TSB Group intensified, lifting TSB 16.5p to 396p. Commerzbank, the German group, was next month and National Westminster Bank, said to be close to buying the privately-owned HM Rothschild merchant bank,

gained 12p to 649p. Standard Chartered, once a Lloyds target, now seen as a possible HSBC victim, improved 8p to 525p. Utilities and banks pushed the stock market ahead with the FTSE index up 7.6 points at 3,522.4. Trading was much busier than recently with turnover nudging 800 million shares.

Glaxo Wellcome was again in form, gaining 16p to 827p. Today's analysis meeting and the US Food and Drug Administration clearance for its Epivir drug for treating the HIV virus encouraged the shares.

Guinness, however, was a casualty of an investment

meeting, falling 20p to 489p as the market braced itself for profit downgrades.

Caradon, the building materials group, was another hit by worries of analytical knives, falling 8p to 177p with one 250,000 trade completed at 172.5p.

British Gas had an eventful session, diving 6p on the poor statement from Calor. But the price was quickly squeezed to 228p, off 0.5p, with what was seen as sympathetic noises from British Petroleum over the take-or-pay gas contracts helping sentiment. Calor fell 20p to 237p.

Results hit Amersham International 71p to 849p but Alledomec managed to hold at 493p despite predictably flat figures. BSkyB jumped 16p to 386p on results.

Inchcape dipped 7p to 295p with a downgrading by SBC Warburg, the company's broker, overshadowing the arrival

of new chairman Sir Colin Marshall. TI, the engineer, added 5p to 440p on an investment meeting and RPB, the plaster board group, put on 9p to 299p in response to a NatWest Securities push.

Rockit & Colman, off 6p at 651p, was unsettled by a howling line of stock.

Chubb, the security group, was firm at 335p. Interim results are due next month and Williams de Broe expect a 15 per cent advance to 44.9p.

Rhino, the computer games retailer, lost some of its recent embrace, falling 4p to 12.5p, but bid speculation continued to inflate Bluebird, the toys group, up 10p to 336p.

Netronics Technology added 8p to 53p after announcing the development of a "electronic nose", a smell analyser.

Enviroomed, the struggling healthcare group, added another 3p to 23p.

**TAKING STOCK**

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**TOWN CENTRE SECURITIES**, the Leeds-based property group run by the Ziff family, fell 4p to 85p as a turnover of nearly 24 million shares was printed. Four big deals went through at 82p. There was speculation the Ziffs were lessening their involvement, but it seems the selling was by one of TCS's institutional shareholders.

**SHARE PRICE DATA**

Prices are in sterling except where stated. The yield is last year's dividend, grossed up by 20 per cent, as a percentage of the share price. The priceearnings (PE) ratio is the share price divided by last year's earnings per share, excluding exceptional items.

Other details: ex rights ex. ex-dividend ex. unlisted securities market.

Sources: Firstet.

**THE INDEPENDENT INDEX**

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UK Stock Market Report 01 Bullion Report 05 Water Shares 39

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Stock	Vol '94	Stock	Vol '95	Stock	Vol '95
Marconi	14,000	Marconi & Operator	14,000	Shell Transport	5,100
Bell South	15,000	Bell South	13,000	Lloyd's Bank	7,000
Abloy National	17,000	Brand Met.	8,000	Centrica	8,000
General Elect.	17,000	British Steel	8,000	BT	7,000
Salicor	15,000	Midland Bank	8,000	Globe Telecom	8,000

**FTSE 100 INDEX HOUR BY HOUR**

Open 3517.8 up 3.0 11.00 3519.2 up 4.4 15.00 3520.8 up 6.0

09.00 3513.1 down 1.7 12.00 3526.2 up 11.4 16.00 3519.1 up 4.3

10.00 3513.6 down 1.2 13.00 3526.2 up 11.4 Close 3522.4 up 7.6

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# sport

## Super Leaguers shape up for the small screen

Mal Meninga was every bit as commanding on centre stage as he used to be in a centre's shirt. "No dramatic rule changes," he said, almost adding, "George Bush-like: 'Read my lips. No dramatic changes.'

As a highly influential front-man for the Super League, Meninga comes up with the right sound bites. But there are others who wield even more clout than he does, singing a slightly different tune.

Take this, for instance. "We'll make rugby league look like you've never seen it before." It is not exactly "steady as she goes" – and it comes from Ru-

pert Murdoch, in an interview with the *Australian* last month.

Meninga was in England this week for the launch of the European end of Murdoch's Super League empire. He had to help make the future sound exciting – which it is – but at the same time, reassuringly familiar, something it may well not be.

The fact of the matter is that Super League is going to have to deliver the goods for television. As Meninga admitted on Monday, meetings of Super League coaches in Australia have already come up with a series of suggestions. This way, the game can still claim to be in the

Rugby league risks sacrificing the essence of the sport as it seeks to satisfy its influential backers, argues Dave Hadfield

driving seat; logic dictates, however, that it is the changes which will suit the screen that will be adopted.

The word from Australia is that those changes will include stopping the clock for goals, unlimited substitutions, moving all scrums 20 metres in field and, possibly, dividing games into four quarters.

Although Meninga and the driving force behind the Super League in Britain, Maurice Lindsay, were at pains to point

out that nothing will happen without an international consensus, such revisions of the rules would move the code further away from its heritage as a continuous game played, for the most part, by the same 13 players.

The overriding need to package the game as televisual entertainment has already started here with the dramatic opening up of play under the 10-metre offside rule. One Australian observer, used to

the different practices back home, watched the 15 tries in the London Broncos' match against St Helens last week and said: "I have seen the future of rugby league and it's called basketball."

It looks good on TV, but, as a live diet week after week, it can be curiously unsatisfying and bloodless.

One problem that Super League on both continents will have when it starts in March is that too many matches will be

unbalanced. A solution is already suggesting itself: the side that scores kicking off and their opponents getting possession.

Changes will be as dramatic as they need to be to make the Super League work. And, five years down the line, when the first Super League contract expires, the more far-sighted clubs are preparing themselves for a whole new ball-game. What some of them expect to be doing is playing in a truly European competition, involving teams from what are now rug-by union clubs.

Will that be under rugby league rules as we know them? The truth is that we do not know, or that those who do know are not saying.

What Murdoch has said is that it will be done his way – or else. "If we're failed in rugby league we'll move on to the next sport and the next one, and maybe we'll come back to rugby league one day soon, or later. We'll see."

We will, starting next March. Oldham's coach, Andy Goodway, believed to be on a shortlist of three for the coaching job of new Super League club Paris, will have talks about his future with Oldham's chairman, Jim Quinn, tomorrow.

**Hamed unable to defend his title**

### Boxing

A hand injury to Naseem Hamed means that he is unable to make his first defence of the World Boxing Organisation featherweight title and will surrender the spotlight to two of Britain's bread-and-butter champions at London Arena on 9 December.

Hamed sustained a fractured right hand while preparing for the fight against the unbeaten Mexican, Arnulfo Castillo. The specialist says he will not be able to fight before the end of January at the earliest, said Andy Ayling for the promoter Frank Warren.

Hamed, who stopped the Welshman Steve Robinson to become champion, is now scheduled to meet Castillo later in the year. In his place, Ross Hale and Paul Ryan top the bill in a triple light-heavyweight title fight which presents both men with a big chance to make the most of prime-time exposure – and to press a claim for a WBO world championship chance.

Herbie Hide will also not fight on 9 December, having decided to forgo a £120,000 purse to challenge for the European heavyweight title in Stuttgart. He has withdrawn from a bout against the Croatian holder, Zeljko Mavrovic, because he is not keen to fight in Germany.

It would have been Hide's first ring appearance since losing his WBO title to Riddick Bowe in Las Vegas in March – a fight which earned him £2m – and was scheduled to support the Axel Schulz-Frans Botha bout for the vacant International Boxing Federation heavyweight championship.

Hide was forced to pull out of the original 15 September date against Mavrovic in his home town of Norwich after undergoing an operation on his jaw which required the removal of wisdom teeth.

The European Boxing Union then put the bout out to pursue bids, with the biggest offer coming from a German promoter, Wilfried Sauerland. "I didn't want to fight in Germany. I wanted the fight to go ahead in front of my own fans in Norwich," Hide said.

### TODAY'S NUMBER

80

The number of times Argentina and Brazil will have played each other at full international level after tonight's football friendly in Buenos Aires. So far, Argentina have won 30 of the matches and Brazil 28.

## Leadbetter stays ahead of the game

Golf's No 1 guru reveals the secrets of his phenomenal success to Richard Edmondson

Ian Baker-Finch is an exception. As he towed round a gallery with a liking for the macabre at St Andrews in July, the Australian's horrible deterioration picked away at the invincibility of David Leadbetter, the sport's foremost coach.

Baker-Finch is a rarity in golf, a man taught by Leadbetter and a man going backwards. His slide into the crevasses has coincided with a season of calm for the high-profile Leadbetter clients – Nick Faldo, Nick Price and Ernie Els – and put a confident note into the voices of those who like to criticise the guru.

One Ryder Cup-winning player has already suggested that Leadbetter will be no force within the game in a decade's time, while others are emerging from the foxholes with the practised line that his methods are too eccentric, his players too robotic.

Leadbetter himself hears these noises. "It's only human that people look at what you're doing and have their own ideas about it," he said on a recent visit to Britain to promote his new book. "But I don't let that worry me because I just enjoy what I do. You can't make everyone happy all the time, but I work with so many players that hopefully one of them is going to do well."

El's success in last month's World Matchplay was a fillip for

'Nick Faldo has always been a grinder, though he is not as technical as some people make out'

appear to have come from a Spanish Inquisition catalogue. Further teaching aids look to have been scooped up after a quick dash into the garage.

"I've had them swinging a mop or rubber tubing with a weight on the end to get a feeling of whip in the swing."

Sadly, nothing can help the batful Baker-Finch who, just

four years after an Open victory at Birkdale, makes his part of the golf course a hard-hat area.

"In basic terms, he has now got

the yips with the driver," Leadbetter said. "He tells me that when he stands up there he has

a mental image of disaster,

know it's going to happen again one day and you can also sense Nick Faldo's drought will not continue for much longer."

Price's mind has been full of contracts and deals for much of this season, which is Leadbetter's reasoning for this protégé's lack of impact in the majors, while the teacher believes his prize pupil, Faldo, will soon be on top of the rostrum again. "I don't know why he's won more tournaments this year, but it is going to happen," Leadbetter said. "It's a bit like asking why didn't it rain very much this summer. We all

snappy fellow who thinks quickly and speaks quickly: and Nick Faldo has always been a grinder and he's an analytical person, though he is not as technical as some people seem to make out."

Leadbetter's golfing technique must therefore be fluent and well-practised. He has a communicator's fluidity with words, and also the neat conversational stratagem of dropping in people's Christian names. "That's right, Sybil," he told listeners to *Ruscoe On Five* from Broadcasting House in London, and then, a quick

walk across Portland Place to the Langham Hilton and a light snack later, he insisted "that's a very good question, Richard".

With his books, videos, schools and retreats – two-day courses which cost \$3,500 (£2,400) a man – all of which he calls "the marketing stuff", David Leadbetter, who once nearly became an accountant, probably needs a team from that profession to look after his affairs. He maintains, however, he does his job not principally for material gain but for the satisfaction of improving a golfer,

be it the world No 1 or the chap who once startled him in an airport toilet with the suggestion that Leadbetter was the perfect man to give him a hand".

"Analysing the golf swing is a bit like being a detective," he said. "You have the case in front of you and you have to solve the mystery." While Baker-Finch may now perform as though he has been programmed by Clauseau, there are still plenty of cases to support the belief that David Leadbetter is the best in his field.

■ *David Leadbetter's Lessons From The Golf Greats*, Collins Willow £16.99.



David Leadbetter: 'Analysing the golf swing is a bit like being a detective. You have to solve the mystery'

Photograph: Peter Jay

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INDEPENDENT

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On Sunday 19 November one of the world's greatest stores is opening its doors exclusively to readers of the Independent and the Independent on Sunday. Liberty, a byword for quality, choice, elegance and luxury, will welcome you in 21 branches nationwide, including its famous Tudor building in London's Regent Street, between 11am and 5pm.

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The Christmas Home, for example, has everything you need to make the festive season a time of luxury with scented pot pourri and exotic oils to give your home a warm, spicy aroma and sumptuous cloths and coverings to give your table a touch of timeless style.

To attend the shopping day simply call Liberty on 0171 573 9573 to book an invitation (admits two). You will be asked to give your name, address, the branch you wish to visit and the number of invitations you require. Lines are open daily until Saturday 11 November between 9am and 6pm.

Numbers at each participating store (listed below) are limited, so to avoid disappointment call NOW.

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**Rules**

1. To enter our Liberty prize draw, collect 5 numbered tokens (one from each participating store). Post one from the Independent on Sunday) and send with a completed entry form to: Independent/Liberty Prize Draw, PO Box 252, London SE1 1AB. The closing date is 27 November 1995. We will print an entry letter on Sunday 11 November.
2. For privacy reasons, please do not write your name on the entry form. If you do, please tick the box "I agree to my name being used for publicity purposes if required and accept that their names and photographs will be published in the paper".
3. Winners must co-operate for publicity purposes if required and accept that their names and photographs will be published in the paper.
4. Postage and handling of tokens and entry forms are not acceptable.
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6. Employees and agents of Newspaper Publishing PLC or those of any other company mentioned in these rules, and any firm connected with the promotion are not eligible to take part, neither are their relatives nor members of their families or households.
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9. Proof of postage will not be accepted. The promoter will not be liable for entries lost or damaged in the post.
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To enter our draw you must collect five differently numbered tokens from the seven being published in the Independent and the Independent on Sunday. One token must come from the Independent on Sunday. If you missed Sunday's token, we are publishing it again today along with Token 4. An entry form will appear on Saturday 11 November.

**INDEPENDENT ON SUNDAY**

**TOKEN 1**

**LIBERTY**

**TOKEN 2**

**INDEPENDENT**

**TOKEN 3**

**LIBERTY**

Maguire moves



# Applause fades for Swinburn

**Greg Wood** reports on how this year's Derby-winning rider has been sidelined

Walter Swinburn's Flat season began well enough, with victory on Lamantia in the Derby at Epsom, but it deteriorated when he lost the ride on the same horse in his subsequent races and ended on a lower note still yesterday when a "Dear Walter" letter dropped on to his mat informing him that Sheikh Maktoum, Al Maktoum no longer wished to retain Swinburn as his first jockey.

The Sheikh's publicity machine insisted that he had not been sacked, but from the jockey's point of view at least, it is a semantic distinction. Swinburn has enjoyed considerable success in Sheikh Maktoum's royal blue and white silks since his contract began in 1992, including Group One victories on Hatoof (1,000 Guineas) and Ez-zond (International Stakes, twice). He had previously partnered other top-class winners for the Sheikh, including Shaheed Dancer in the Irish Derby and Shaded in the Queen Elizabeth II Stakes.

The letter to Swinburn from his former employer, Gainsborough Stud, said: "We do not wish to retain a jockey for the 1996 season. As you are fully aware, Sheikh Maktoum is very much involved with the Godolphin operation and has given a considerable number of horses to his friends, who as you know make their own arrangements regarding trainers and jockeys."

The letter also states that the

Sheikh hopes Swinburn will ride for him whenever possible and thanks him for his past success.

Whether any future bookings will include the mount on Royal Applause, one of this year's best juveniles and a 14-1 chance for next year's 2,000 Guineas, must be doubtful, however. Swinburn will be bitterly disappointed if yesterday's news means he will be denied good rides in major races in which he so often shines.

The jockey himself is not too keen on his reputation as a man for the big occasion, which carries with it an implication that other riders have more application in the day-to-day business of race-riding. What is beyond dispute, though, is Swinburn's coolness when it really matters.

Famously, he overslept on the morning of the 1981 Derby, even though he was due to partner Sheerar, the odds-on favourite, at Epsom that afternoon. He ended this year's Flat turf season with 60 winners to his credit, 52 short of his best total, recorded in 1990.

A statement issued by Swinburn last night insisted that his "very warm and cordial relations" with the Sheikh and other members of his family would not be affected. He added: "Over the past few years I have had the honour to ride many horses for Sheikh Maktoum Al Maktoum - and I look forward to riding many more in the years to come."

The letter also states that the



Damien Oliver's army: the rider of Melbourne Cup victor Dioriemus is acclaimed by supporters

Photograph: AP

# Crop denied another Cup harvest

Amid talk of an "irregular" pre-race drugs swab, Double Trigger's attempt to bring the Melbourne Cup to the northern hemisphere for the second time in three years ended in bitter disappointment yesterday, when Vintage Crop, a 10-1 chance, while Vintage Crop, who won the race for Ireland two years ago, finished strongly into third after finding trouble in running.

Mark Johnston's stayer, winner of the Ascot Gold Cup in June, was sent off the 7-2 favourite by a huge crowd at Flemington Park but faded tamely into 17th in a 21-runner field after tracking a strong early pace. The winner was Dioriemus, a 10-1 chance, while Vintage Crop, who won the race for Ireland two years ago, finished strongly into third after finding trouble in running.

Before the race, Australian television reported that Double Trigger had returned an "irregular swab", but the local stewards allowed him to take his place in the stalls after an assurance from its trainer that the colt was well. "I can't explain it," Johnston said. "The stewards also took a post-race sample from him and told me at this stage not to be too concerned. I told them I had given him nothing beforehand." The result from the second sample will not be known for a week.

Mick Kinane in the final two furlongs to take third. "He was taken out after 50 yards and then stopped again with seven furlongs to run," Weld said.

"That left him with an impossible task in such soft ground but he has run a great race none the less. I would say that he was the same horse here as on the day he won the race back in 1993."

Oliver dedicated the success to his father, killed in a fall in a race when his son was just three years old. "My only regret is that my father isn't here to share this special moment," Oliver said. "The last 200 metres were the longest of my life, but it is a dream come true for me to win the race. Lee Freedman can be a hard taskmaster, but that's what I need at times."

Freedman's post-race comments were simple and direct. "Great horse, great ride, great effort," he said. "This is the biggest thrill of my career."

**RICHARD EDMONDSON**

NAP: Hops And Pops  
(Newbury 2.20)  
NB: Cherrymut  
(Worcester 2.30)

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Oliver dedicated the success to his father, killed in a fall in a race when his son was just three years old. "My only regret is that my father isn't here to share this special moment," Oliver said. "The last 200 metres were the longest of my life, but it is a dream come true for me to win the race. Lee Freedman can be a hard taskmaster, but that's what I need at times."

Before the race, Australian television reported that Double Trigger had returned an "irregular swab", but the local stewards allowed him to take his place in the stalls after an assurance from its trainer that the colt was well. "I can't explain it," Johnston said. "The stewards also took a post-race sample from him and told me at this stage not to be too concerned. I told them I had given him nothing beforehand." The result from the second sample will not be known for a week.

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# sport

## Hammam rages at Dons' 'rape'

### Football

Wimbledon's managing director, Sam Hammam, is ready to spend £20,000 to compile a special video to prove his much-maligned team are being regularly victimised by referees. He has also called for an independent inquiry, headed by the Premier League and Football Association, to sit in judgement on the issue.

The move follows the dismissal at Nottingham Forest on Monday of Wimbledon's captain, Vinnie Jones. It was the 10th time he has been shown the red card in his turbulent career, including a dismissal in September against Liverpool when video evidence subsequently persuaded the FA to cancel an automatic suspension.

Monday's events produced another outburst from the Dons' manager, Joe Kinnear, who said the referee, Paul Alcock, and a linesman were "disgraceful, very poor and dreadful." All this on the night Kinnear returned to his place on the bench after a six-month touchline ban imposed last season, along with a £1,500 fine, for abusing two other referees.

The FA will examine the transcript of Kinnear's remarks before deciding on any action but Hammam fully supports his manager's theory that officials are biased against the South London club.



Jones: Monday's first offence

"I want people to see we are being treated differently from everyone else, as I am convinced it is true," Hammam said. "We will supply the evidence if the FA allows us to do so and, if that evidence shows we are thugs and villains, we must think of some other way of dealing with it."

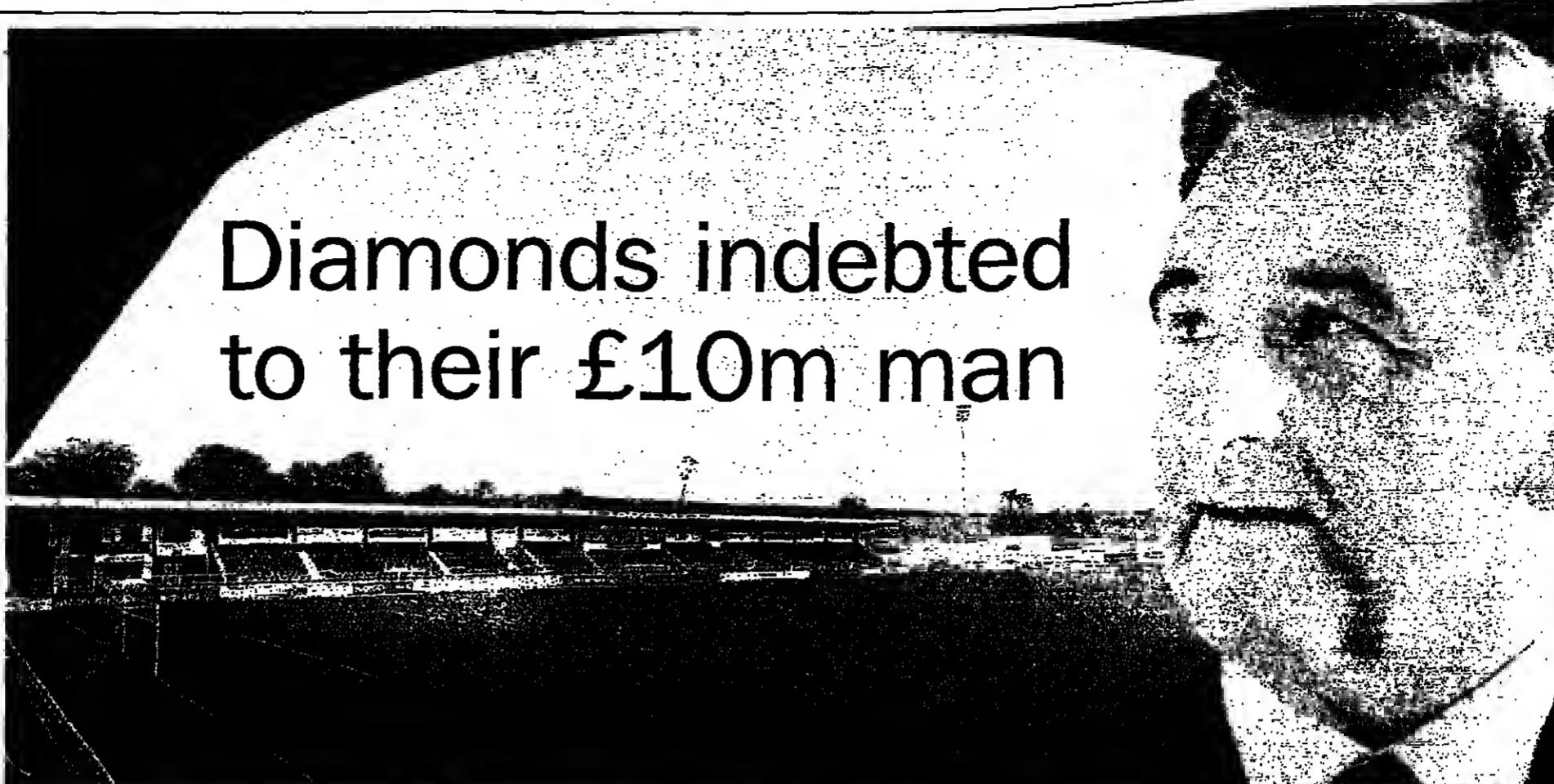
"But my certain feeling is we are being raped week in, week out by referees and linesmen, and it just cannot go on," Hammam added. "We have had five sendings-off in 12 games this season plus 24 yellow cards and we cannot continue like this – it is impossible for us."

Now Hammam is determined to prove his club is being singled out for uniquely heavy-handed treatment by referees. "It will take about three weeks to compile the video I have in mind," he said. "We will splice together film of incidents involving other clubs' players with similar ones involving our players and invite the inquiry to draw its own conclusions on what action the referees took in each case."

Hammam is particularly unhappy about the two yellow cards Jones received on Monday. He asked: "How, after Vinnie protested about offside, did the referee give a free-kick against us on the edge of our penalty box when the ball was in our goalkeeper's hands?" And how did Vinnie get a red card later when Bryan Roy was just too quick and ran into him?

"I honestly believe there is not another player in the Premier League who would have been sent off for what Vinnie did," Hammam said. "Not now, not ever."

Alcock, the referee at Forest, said yesterday: "I'm certain I cannot be questioned over the decision to give Forest a free-kick for the Wimbledon player's dissent. He did not swear but went on and on for a long time and in the end when he pointed to his eyes, clearly indicating the linesman was blind. I could not allow him any more leeway. The second bookable offence was quite straightforward. He deliberately stopped his opponent running past him by putting his body in the way."



Max Griggs, the chairman of ambitious Rushden & Diamonds, and the luxurious Nene Park, the ground he built

**F**or a club still wet behind the ears, Rushden & Diamonds boast some exotic connections. Eric Cantona, David Ginola and Moscow Dynamo all have bit parts in a story to which the visit of Cardiff City will add a fresh chapter in the FA Cup on Saturday.

Cantona's shirt from the Wembley final of 18 months ago, autographed and framed, hangs in the club's headquarters. Ginola made his bow for Newcastle against them in a pre-season friendly. And four decades ago, local lads christened their new team the Diamonds as a derivation of Russia's legendary sporting ambassador.

Household names all. Thanks to another foreign luminary, Rushden & Diamonds may eventually be one themselves. The irony is that the gentleman in question, a German from Bavaria, has never heard of the club. He is known for his interest in footwear rather than football. He is also dead.

Dr Klaus Martens' revolutionary boot design – with air-filled "bouncing soles" – was acquired in 1980 by a family firm in the cobbling county of Northamptonshire. Today the business boasts a worldwide weekly sale of 220,000 pairs of

"Doc Martens". So profitable has it become that the £10m used to launch and sustain Rushden & Diamonds has not been missed.

Ten million? On a Beazley Homes League team? Max Griggs, chairman of both club and shoemaking empire, is used to people doubting his sanity. They did it three years ago when he financed the merger of two non-League nonentities, Rushden Town and Irthingborough Diamonds. Now he is confident of Football League status before the turn of the century.

Such visions may appear fanciful given that the full house of 4,600 expected for the Diamonds' debut in the competition proper is equivalent to the population of Irthingborough ("a few shops either side of the high street and you're in the country," Griggs admits). Yet at Nene Park, a 100-acre complex on the town's outskirts, seeing is believing.

The stadium itself is unrecognisable from the days when the original Diamonds played to 30 men and a dog in the United Counties League. (A few miles away Rushden were drawing 150 in the Beazley Midland Division). A mass of red seats and one spacious

terrace have sprouted, with a double-decker stand to accommodate 4,200 on its way.

Griggs a bouncy soul who supported Northampton from Fourth to First and later had an unfulfilling spell as a director, recalls how the prospective partners invited him along to the old ground. "It didn't appeal to me. All I could see was the development potential, putting some units up. But then I began getting involved, and the football started getting into my blood."

"After I'd agreed to come in, I said: 'Why don't we build a 1,000-seater stand?' People said: 'But we're only getting gates of 250'. They fancied being a nice little club, perhaps in the Conference. But I said: 'Well, let's build it and find out.' So we did, though I was told we were wasting our money. But it was full when we opened it and has been ever since."

The first fixture as Rushden & Diamonds was watched by 315. A gate of 2,078 for Saturday's 5-1 rout of Stafford took this season's average to 1,800. "I'm told there's 250,000 people within a 10-mile radius of here," Griggs says. "We're getting fans from all over East Northants, and from as far afield as Milton Keynes and Bedford."

It helps, of course, that the side are three points clear at the top with three games in hand, having won 10 of the first 12. They have also come through five qualifying rounds to confront Cardiff, but there is more to the Nene Park experience than what happens out on the park.

Unlike most clubs who have relocated, the ground does not resemble an architecturally challenged hypermarket. The focal point is the Diamond Centre, which houses spacious offices and state-of-the-art dressing-rooms. There is also a restaurant, conference facilities, gymnasium, sauna, bars and banqueting suite that converts into a snooker venue

good enough to host the European League, all generating funds.

Not to mention the toilets with nappy-changing facilities. Premiership-standard executive boxes, club radio station carrying commentary on all Diamonds' games, an electronic scoreboard bought from Millwall – which Griggs reckons is a crowd-puller in itself – or the "Doc Shop" selling the products which have made such feats possible.

Outside, there is a full-sized, pristine practice pitch. A synthetic surface and driving range are under construction. The ratio of parking space to cars must be as good as any in Britain, and Griggs is even putting up the money to build a new road and roundabout to make access easier.

Now is the playing side starved of cash. The manager, Roger Ashby, has twice broken the £20,000 barrier. "If I thought that by spending £50,000 on a player it'd get us promotion to the League, we'd do it," Griggs says.

"If you look at a team pic from our first year, in '92, there's only two faces left. From the next year it's three or four. We play well, but they're great lads, not mercenaries.

There's a real team spirit. I go on the coach to the away games, and they're all singing away."

Inevitably, he has been dubbed "the non-League Jack Walker". As with Blackburn, people also argue that the potential is strictly finite. "They say: 'You must have better things to spend your money on'. But I've no desire for huge yachts in Monte Carlo. I'm just a homely boy who enjoys doing what I do. I'm happy putting something into the community. I don't really need any more."

"I'm asked why I haven't gone back to Northampton or to Kettering, but it's lovely to build something from nothing. I'm having great fun. Once you've spent the money, you forget you've done it. If the new wear company wanted new machinery that would take priority over football, but as long as we can do both – why not?"

"I don't see why we shouldn't reach the First Division, though I accept you can go too fast and that you need to consolidate." Cardiff, one suspects, may not be the first League club to find that Rushden & Diamonds' style is consolidation.

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# SPORT

## Sinclair called up but Ince kept in exile

GLENN MOORE  
Football Correspondent

It has been a long time since Blackpool were able to take a direct interest in the England team. Jimmy Armfield apart, no one has regularly worn both tangerine and white since the days when Sir Stanley Matthews was on the wing and Stan Mortensen in the middle.

Next week, however, when Terry Venables decides his final 11 to face Switzerland in a friendly international at Wembley, Bloomfield Road will be watching carefully. The Lan-

cashire club stands to earn a £50,000 bonus if one of their former starlets, Trevor Sinclair, plays for Queen's Park Rangers, now at Queen's Park.

But while Sinclair became the latest member of Terry Venables' England club, Paul Ince remained outside. He will thus miss the chance to impress his club manager, Roy Hodgson, at international level. Hodgson is managing both Internazionale and Switzerland.

Venables, who watched the former England captain in ac-

tion for Inter on Sunday, said the door was still ajar but admitted the time when he would have to shut it for good was drawing near.

For Sinclair, however, the future is bright indeed. As a player who can play wide or through the middle, he is less of an heir to Matthews or Mortensen than Tom Finney, one of the few English players to be blessed with such attacking versatility. Sinclair, of course, has a long way to go to match of Finney's standards.

Sinclair is being bracketed in the £10m range — what, one wonders, would Finney have cost if playing now. Interna-

tion squad  
  
For Monday's Switzerland v Norway on 15 November:  
Sunderland (Morrison), Preston (Stevens); Middlesbrough (Owen Duff, Jones (Liverpool), Pearce (Nottingham Forest), Charlton (Sheffield Wednesday), Adams (Arsenal), Pilkington (Middlesbrough), Hartson (Southampton), Ferguson, Lee (Derby County), Smith (Leeds United), Hoddle (Tottenham Hotspur), Barnes (West Ham United), Parker (Everton), Stewart (Aston Villa), Potts (Brentford), Gazzola (Parma), Lee (Newcastle United), Walker (Sheffield Wednesday), Johnson (Middlesbrough), Thompson (Sheffield Wednesday), Fletcher (Sheffield United), Gilliland (Sheffield United), McAllister (Middlesbrough), Moore (Sheffield Wednesday), Parker (Liverpool). The stand-by goalkeepers: Elton (Everton), Bruce (Sheffield Wednesday), Parker (Sheffield Wednesday), Walker (Sheffield Wednesday), Gilliland (Sheffield Wednesday), Moore (Sheffield Wednesday), Parker (Liverpool).

tional exposure is bound to increase speculation although the club is quick to point out he has recently signed a new deal. Blackpool, who stand to reap 20 per cent profit on any transfer, are watching closely.

There are two notable features in Sinclair's development. He chose Blackpool in prefer-

ence to both Manchester clubs because he felt he would gain a better upbringing at a smaller club, and is a graduate of the FA National School of Excellence. Both the school, and several small clubs, are under threat of closure.

"He is in outstanding form," Venables said yesterday. "He has also played a lot of England at youth and under-21 level and looked very happy in that environment."

Venables said he felt Ince needed more time to settle in Italy. "It is hard anyway and, in his case, the nature of his game has made him more apprehensive because of the way referees are reacting to it. On Sunday I saw him make a brilliant tackle yet have a foul given against him. It is very frustrating. He is proud enough to want to make a success of it, but he is wise enough to know if the club do not want him there is little point in staying. At least he now

opposition. Well-organised, some sharp forwards, they are effective through to the European Championship next summer. It was not always Armfield once captained and to an 8-1 away win against them. A repeat is not expected.

**SWITZERLAND SQUAD:** Pearce, Lomax, Gaze, Hendrie, Hart, Hobson, Johnson, O'Neill, Walker, Charlton, Barnes, Charlton, Walker, McAllister, Barnes (Nottingham Forest), Ferguson, Lee (Derby County), Smith (Leeds United), Parker (Everton), Gilliland (Sheffield Wednesday), Moore (Sheffield Wednesday), Parker (Liverpool). The stand-by goalkeepers: Elton (Everton), Bruce (Sheffield Wednesday), Parker (Sheffield Wednesday), Walker (Sheffield Wednesday), Gilliland (Sheffield Wednesday), Moore (Sheffield Wednesday), Parker (Liverpool).

"After Christmas I will have to make a decision on him but, like John Barnes, he is an experienced player and I would have no qualms about bringing him in."

Barnes, though fit and in form, has been omitted after missing the Norway game through injury. David Platt's scoring ability has ensured his swift return while Peter Beardsley is also back — and note too soon as Nick Barmby is out after twisting an ankle in training. Switzerland will be useful

## FA's 'restructuring' threat over TV deal

GLENN MOORE

The Football Association has threatened the Eambil League clubs with "re-structuring" if they do not accept the FA-brokered television deal on Friday.

The threat is contained in a leaked letter from Graham Kelly, the chief executive of the FA, which has been sent to all FA Council members. The letter details the new deal which is worth £11.85m over five years and, though backed by Sky TV, also includes terrestrial coverage.

The letter contains a nebulous, but threatening passage, which says: "If the proposals are accepted by the Football [Eambil] League the FA will be saved consideration of any applications to further re-structure the professional game. If the proposals are not accepted... there could be further ramifications in the structure of the professional competitions."

As Gordon McKeag, the president of the Football League, and eight club chairmen or directors are members of the FA Council, this letter is sure to receive wide currency before Friday's meeting. The phrasing is vague enough for almost every club to feel unnerved but the lower division clubs, haunted by the spectres of regionalisation, part-time football and, especially, the

creation of a second breakaway league, will have most cause for concern.

The letter contrasts with one which was sent by Kelly to all 72 club chairmen and publicly released yesterday. That stressed the deal's positive aspects although it also warned: "It is a here-and-now offer. It is not a speculative proposal involving a percentage of a financial question-mark at some stage in the future."

That comment is clearly aimed at the Premier League who, since the FA offered its deal, have made a counter-proposal. The Premier League believes the Football League should simply renew its current deal (worth £6.7m a year) for one year to bring it in line with the other deals. Then it should link with the Premier to negotiate a joint deal, of which the Football League would be guaranteed 20 per cent. It is anticipated this would at least match the FA offer.

Both sides insist they will not become involved in an auction — but that is the only friendly note to the debate. The FA, having made its proposal on 9 October, originally gave the Football League 14 days to accept. The deadline was extended to Friday on condition the Football League did not renegotiate with the Premier League in the meantime.

The Premier League is upset by this demand, and suspicious

of the need for a quick decision. This, says the FA, is because ITV can renew the Football League's current deal at the same price if a deal is not agreed by 1 December. However, it may not be in ITV's long-term interest to do so.

Both bidders say they are seeking the best deal for the good of the game. The FA argues that it always has football's wider interests at heart; the Premier League notes that it has told the clubs their deal would be linked with ground improvements and youth development.

In essence the row is about power — who controls the professional game? In a moment of candour, Trevor Phillips, the FA's commercial director and the force behind their offer, admitted: "This is a battle for power. This is all about keeping a healthy balance of power so everyone respects each other's position. Things work better when there is a healthy balance of power."

So the attention turns to the Football League's meeting on Friday. Some chairmen will feel the FA is holding a gun to their heads but, given the amount of money involved, it is a sugar-coated gun. Whoever they do the deal with their income will be immensely increased. Then the real row will begin. If you think this is messy, wait until the clubs start arguing about how they divide it up.



On the spot: Emma Holden concentrates on keeping her position on the ice during her short programme during the British junior figure skating championships at Basingstoke yesterday

Photograph: David Ashdown

## Maradona dons cap and gown

Oxford University has seldom had a guest speaker like Diego Maradona.

"We've had Reagan and Gorbatchev here, and he out-did them both," said Rabbi Samuel Boteach, the director of the Jewish student group L'Chaim Society.

"The students showed him a kind of adulation I haven't seen before. Gorbatchev got the restrained academic adulation, but not the gung-ho thing we saw with Maradona. They were clearly in love with him."

Maradona, who began his second career comeback last month with the Argentinian club Boca Juniors, used the historic debating chamber to pro-

recent memory," Rabbi Boteach said.

The 35-year-old midfielder, disgraced twice for drug-related suspensions from soccer, lapped up the chance. Notoriously unreliable, he arrived 50 minutes late — tied up in traffic to Oxford after a Concord flight to London.

"I was hoping there would be something more interesting than his speech," Clare Dixon, an 18-year-old student, said. There was. A student tossed Maradona a golf ball and he foot-jugged it. Then he balanced a football on his forehead. The applause thundered both times.

"Just being in the same room with him was unbelievable. He's the best player in the last 20 years," another student, Tom Ewing, said.

Seated beside him at the podium were his two young daughters, in party dresses, and his wife, Claudia, who eventually joined him from the audience.

"I've seen leaders, some very

famous people have come

through here and I've never

seen them bring their children,

Rabbi Boteach said.

Maradona, a street kid who grew up in a Buenos Aires slum, seemed sincerely moved by the event.

"It's been very emotional ... it's not often a soccer player can

face so many people so rich in culture and education," he said.

Maradona told reporters,

"So it was important for me to

be here and show we're not as ignorant as they say we are."

Maradona, who began his

second career comeback last

month with the Argentinian

club Boca Juniors, used the

historic debating chamber to pro-

presented to him by Oxford's

Lord Mayor.

The diploma read: "Master

Inspirer of Oxford Dreamers".

years," another student, Tom Ewing, said.

Seated beside him at the podium were his two young daughters, in party dresses, and his wife, Claudia, who eventually joined him from the audience.

"The management were very understanding," Thorpe said. "I needed to make sure Nick was okay and if I had not gone home I would only have been fretting here."

"I've got a bit of catching up to do," Thorpe added. "But I'm not too worried about having only one match before the first Test. I still think I'll be up to playing in it."

**ENGLAND** (Four-day match v South Africa, Kimberley, starting tomorrow): Captain: G. P. Thorpe; 1st XI: J. S. Steyn, R. A. Smith, C. Russell (two), M. Watkinson, D. Gough, A. C. Fraser, D. E. Malcolm, M. C. Holt.

**SOUTH AFRICA** (1st XI): G. S. Compton (Glencairn), G. S. Steyn (Western Province), J. M. Kallis (Western Province), L. J. Williamson (Dover Free State), L. Klaasen (Free State), B. J. Potgieter (KwaZulu-Natal), J. H. Fourie (Orange Free State), P. Adams (Western Province), S. J. Jack (Transvaal).

England A on the brink, page 21

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